

HISTORY OF
Koh-i-Noor,
Darya-i-Noor
AND
Taimur's Ruby

BHAI NAHAR SINGH
KIRPAL SINGH

History of Koh-i-Noor, Darya-i-Noor and Taimur's Ruby

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DEDICATED

TO

The Merciful, Compassionate

and

Magnanimous Soul

of

Gobind Sadan

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INTRODUCTION

The book contains the official documents and selected writings of the prominent authors, relating to the world famous diamond, the *Koh-i-Noor*, as well as the *Darya-i-Noor* and the *Taimur's Ruby*.

These diamonds along with other gems, jewels and pearls were kept in the Toshakhana of the Sovereign State of the Punjab and its tributaries (1799-1849) with its capital at Lahore.

On the 29th March 1849, the British Agent Mr. Elliot declared to the assembled Chiefs of the truncated Sikh Empire, at a Darbar in the Lahore Fort, that as a result of the war and the final victory of the British, Maharaja Dalip Singh was deposed and the territories of the Sultanat were annexed by the British to their dominions in India.

The State treasury became the property of the East India Company and all articles in it were confiscated and appropriated by the British, East India Company.

The Kingdom was carved out by the combined efforts of the Punjabies, Sikhs, Hindus and Muslims under the dynamic leadership of Maharaja Ranjit Singh after seven hundred years of the extinction of the Hindu Kingdom of Lahore under a non-muslim Hindu Punjabi Raja.

The founder, unifier and consolidator, Maharaja Ranjit Singh, was a minor when he succeeded to a small principality around Gujranwala after the death of his father Mahan Singh in 1793. He was surrounded by rivals, rebels, enemies and intriguers. Luck favoured him. Baba Sahib Singh Bedi of Una blessed him and helped him. He captured Lahore in 1799 from Bhangi Sikh Chiefs with the help, assistance, and consent of the Hindu and Muslim population and headman of

the Walled city. He was soon declared as the *Raja of Lahore* by Lahoria Muslims and Hindus, jointly. He came to Amritsar in 1801 and formed an alliance of friendship and amity with the Ramgharia Chief of Amritsar Jodh Singh by name. Ramgharia Sikh Misaldars were the custodians and defenders of the Harmandir Sahib. In 1802, he firmly stuck his foot at Amritsar as Raja of Lahore. Here he formed his friendship with Raja Fateh Singh of Kapurthala—a descendent of Sultan-ul-Qwami Sikhan *Jassa Singh Ahluwalia Padshah*. His mother-in-law, Sada Kaur, head of the Kanhya Misl with her Headquarters at Fatehgarh Churian assisted him greatly in consolidating his power and influence in the *Bari Doab*.

An adept in the art of winning over people and making friendship, Ranjit Singh made cordial relations with Seth *Rama Nand of Amritsar*, the famous *Hundi-Wala* Seth in Northern India. The old Seth loved him like his own son.

His grandmother Mai Desan was the daughter of an influential Gill Jat of Majitha Village. Naturally the Gill Jats of the villages of Majitha and Taran Taran Parganas helped their Dohta son. Men of his own Bhatti tribe around Khatra, near Ajnala helped him and joined his army.

Power and money always attract ambitious and adventure loving men towards a person, who appears master and lord of the land, in times of turmoil and disorder. Soon the rising Ranjit Singh gathered around him some of the bravest leaders of his army.

In 1806, Dewan Mohkam Chand left the service of Sahib Singh Bhangi of Gujrat and came to Lahore, presented himself before Ranjit Singh and requested for a soldier's job under him.

In his book "Historical and Biographical Notices" published in 1865, Sir H. Lepal Griffin writes :

"Appreciating Dewan's talents, he made him Chief of his army, much to the annoyance of the Sikh Sardards."

The story of the Koh-i-Noor, the intense desire and wish

of Maharaja Ranjit Singh to possess, own and wear it, the successful expeditions of Dewan Mohkam Chand and the fate of king Shah Shujah of Kabul are interlinked. And it would not be perhaps superfluous to give a short account of achievements of General Mohkam Chand—one of the greatest generals, that Punjab has produced during the first half of the nineteenth century.

The most distinguished of the generals by whose skill and courage Ranjit Singh rose from a subordinate Chiefship to the Empire of the Punjab was Diwan Mohkam Chand. The sagacity with which the Maharaja selected his officers was the reason of his uniform success.

Gifted by nature with *Khatri Budhi* (The Punjabi term) or a Khatri Tribe's inherited intuitive intelligence, and foresight, Mohkam Chand had assiduously studied the recent happenings in the Punjab, especially the flight of Jaswant Rao Holkar towards the Punjab after his defeat by the British Generals Lake and Ochterlony in Hindustan. Holkar as well as his pursuers with their armies entered the territories of Raja Fateh Singh of Kapurthala and Maharaja Ranjit Singh of Lahore unexpectedly. On the intercession of Maharaja Ranjit Singh Holkar agreed to the terms of the British Generals and retired to his domains far beyond Delhi.

The British became the undisputed masters of Delhi as well as Hindustan after defeating Sindhia and his allies, the 40 Sikh Chiefs of Karnal and Ambala in November 1803 at the battle the of Parpatganj near Delhi and defeating Holkar and his allies near Delhi in 1805-06. The titular king of Delhi was recipient of a stipulated sum from the company since 1764. The nominal king of Delhi (not of Hindustan) had no army, no treasury of his own, no control over courts, and no power of declaring war, peace or making treaties. From 1803 or the occupation of Delhi by the British to 1858, the Mughal kings of Delhi were in fact the pensioners of the British. A small patch of villages around Sonipat was left to the King as personal property for the maintenance of the Royal Kitchen.

In 1803, the Company Sarkar had taken possession of the

districts of Delhi, Sonipat, Gurgaon, Rohtak and Sirsa from Maharaja Sindhia, and annexed this vast tract of territory to the Meerut Division of the N.W.P., with Headquarters at Agra.

After studying the Holkar—British episode at Delhi and Punjab, Mohkam Chand shrewdly anticipated that the next stage of the British conquest or extending political sphere of influence will be the territories between the districts mentioned above and the river Sutlej. This region was under 40 Sikh Chiefs of Sirhind (Ambala & Karnal), the Chiefs of the Phulkian tribe, the Bhai family of Kaithal, Arnauli and muslim chiefs of Malerkotla and Raikot. Some of these chiefs had been already negotiating with the British at Delhi to bring them under their protection.

In order to frustrate the future design of the British, the Dewan advised the Maharaja to bring this whole tract under Sikh Chiefs and Rajas under his control by conquest, diplomacy or by treaty. In order to accomplish this object, he led the Lahore Army across the Sutlej in early 1806, and first seized Zira, which was for sometime defended by the widow of Sirdar Mehar Singh Nishananwalia Misl. He then reduced Jagat Singh of Buria and also Muktsar and Kot-Kapura, then Faridkot, from the Chief of which he obtained tribute, on the way seizing Mari from Hari Singh and Arbel Singh, brothers-in-law of Hari Singh (H.L. Griffin).

In October 1806, he accompanied Ranjit Singh in his expedition against Patiala, in alliance with Raja Bhag Singh of Jind (his maternal uncle); when Ludhiana, Jandiala, Badowal, Jagraon, Kum, Talwandi and other districts were seized, some made over to the Raja of Jind, some to Jaswant Singh of Nabha, and others in Jagirs to Lahore Sirdars, Gurdit Singh, Fateh Singh Ahluwalia and Mohkam Chand.

In pursuance of his well-planned policy in regard to his brethren Sikh Chiefs and Rajas in the Cis-Sutlej territory the Maharaja led his army in the region every year from 1806 to 1809 and annexed vast territory to the Lahore Darbar.

The Company Sarkar felt alarmed on the expeditions of Maharaja Ranjit Singh in the Cis-Sutlej region, conquering and possessing a large chunk of territory in the erstwhile Subah of Delhi of the Mughal Empire. The British deputed Mr. Charles Metcalfe to negotiate with Maharaj Ranjit Singh and warn him of the consequences of his yearly military expeditions of conquest and annexations in this region. Metcalfe met Maharaja Ranjit Singh at Kasur in September 1808, and proposed a defensive alliance between the English and the Maharaja. The Maharaja objected to and refused to make such a treaty as proposed by Mr. Metcalfe. In December 1808 Metcalfe again met him with a letter from Lord Minto the Governor-General.

A treaty was signed in 1809, according to which the Maharaja agreed not to invade, conquer and occupy any more territory in the Cis-Sutlej region.

The British were not sitting idle during these years. They contacted the Sikh Chiefs of the region, especially Bhai Lal Singh of Kaithal and Gulab Singh Shahid of Shahzadpur. These chiefs were afraid of the policy of annexation and amalgamation adopted by Maharaja Ranjit Singh. On advice of Bhai Lal Singh all the 41 Chiefs of this region put themselves under the protection of the British and were termed as protected Chiefship of the British power in "Hindustan".

Simultaneously with the signing of the treaty of 1809 "AN ITLAHNAMAH" was issued by the British that these Chiefs have put themselves under the protection of the British and that they will be helped militarily in case of an invasion.

The treaty and the Itlahnamah together put an end to the plan of Dewan Mohkam Chand and Maharaja Ranjit Singh to extend the territories of the Lahore Darbar up to Jagadhri (river Jumna), Karnal, Kaithal and Sirsa.

In accordance with the terms of the treaty, the British established a "Residency at Ludhiana". They got some land on long lease from the Raja of Jind near the Ludhiana Fort and constructed the Residency buildings. Raja Fateh Singh

Ahluwalia too had a military post at Ludhiana and other places as he possessed a large number of villages in the Cis-Sutlej territory.

General Ochterlony was the first Resident of the Company Sarkar. He did not find Mohkam Chand a pleasant neighbour for he hated English, who had made the Sutlej Valley, the bound of his master's ambitions. "As a shrewed strategist, Mohkam Chand in his capacity as the Governor of the Jullundur Dock, built at Phillour on the right bank of the Sutlej, a very strong fort, which still command the passage of the river, on the site of the Imperial Sarae".

From 1809 onwards the task of unification and consolidation of the Punjab proper was taken up seriously by Maharaja Ranjit Singh on the advice of Dewan Mohkam Chand. Early in 1810 he accompanied Ranjit Singh to Multan, the attack upon which was unsuccessful, and afterwards reduced the country held by Kahn Singh Nakkai. In 1811, he was sent against Dhimbar and returned to Lahore having extracted Rs. 40,000 from the Rajput Chiefs in the hills above Gujrat. Some of the Jalandhar Chiefs now showing a disposition to his rise, he returned to Phillor and quickly restored order, much to Maharaja's satisfaction, who made him Diwan, bestowing on him at the same time valuable khilats. It was at this time that the Diwan annexed the territories of Sirdar Budh Singh Faizullapuria, valued at upwards of three lakhs of rupees. For long the Maharaja had desired his overthrow, and his refusal to attend at court gave an excuse for attacking him. His forts of Jalandhar and Patti were reduced and the Sirdar fled to Ludhiana for safety. Strangely enough the two chiefs who brought their forces to aid the Diwan in this expedition were Fateh Singh Ahluwalia and Jodh Singh Ramgharia, although they were said to have formed an alliance with Budh Singh Faizullapuria to resist Ranjit Singh should he attack either of them. But it was perhaps to postpone an attack on themselves, which they saw was imminent, that they joined the Diwan in his attack on Jalandhar. They were now the only independent chiefs of importance between the Sutlej and the

Indus. Mohkam Chand urged his master to abolish, in a great measure if not altogether, the feudal tenure and to take the whole country under his direct authority. But the time for so radical a change as this had not arrived.

In 1812, the Diwan reduced Kulu, and was then despatched to Kashmir, ostensibly to explain away the hostile movements of prince Kharrak Singh and Bhaiya Ram Singh, but in reality to spy out the land and ascertain whether it was ripe for conquest. But another man, whose ambition was not less than that of Ranjit Singh, was preparing to attack Kashmir. This was Fateh Khan, the Minister of Shah Mahmud of Kabul, who, seeing an alliance with the Sikhs was necessary to his success, invited the Maharaja to join forces and with him invade Kashmir. This was agreed to and Diwan Mohkam Chand and Fateh Khan marched from Jhelum together. But the Afghan had no intention of allowing the Sikhs any large share either in the conquest or in its results and had only carried on negotiations to secure the Maharaja's neutrality. No sooner had the force reached the Pir Panjal than he, without consulting Mohkam Chand or informing him of his intention, pressed on by double marches with his hardy mountain troops, while the Sikhs, never of much use in the hills, were unable to move owing to a heavy fall of snow. The Diwan saw the designs of Fateh Khan but he was not disconcerted. He promised the Rajaori Chief a Jagir of Rs. 25,000 if he would show him a pass by which he might reach the valley at the same time as Fateh Khan, which he contrived to do with a handful of troops under Jodh Singh Kalsia and Nihal Singh Attari. The Diwan was thus present at the capture of Sher Ghar and Hari Parbat and the reduction of the valley, which was a work of no difficulty, for Atta Muhammad the Governor had fled and little resistance was offered, but his force was too weak to be of much assistance, and Fateh Khan declared that the Sikhs were not entitled to a third share of the plunder as had been agreed upon. Shah Shuja the ex-prince of Kabul was made over to the Diwan who brought him to Lahore where he was received with every appearance of respect. The Maharaja, when he heard that Fateh Khan would not divide the spoil

of Kashmir, was very angry and determined on revenge. He opened negotiations with Jahandad Khan, brother of Atta Muhammed, the late Governor of Kashmir, who held the fort of Attock which commanded the passage of the Indus, and induced him to surrender it to Sikhs force. It was now Fateh Khan's turn to be angry and he demanded the restoration of the fort, but Ranjit Singh refused until he should receive his share of the Kashmir plunder. The Wazir, in April 1813, set out from Kashmir, and invaded Attock. Forces were hurried up from Lahore, first under Karam Singh Chahal and then under Diwan Mohkam Chand. For long the armies lay opposite each other, the Sikh suffering somewhat in the frequent skirmishes and not linking to force on a general engagement till the garrison of the fort had exhausted its supplies and it was necessary to relieve it or abandon it altogether. The Diwan then determined on fighting, and at Haidaru, a few miles from Attock he drew up his force in order of battle. The battle was opened by a brilliant cavalry charge led by Dost Muhammad Khan, afterwards the celebrated ruler of Kabul, which broke the Sikh line. One wing was thrown into complete disorder and some guns captured. The Afghans, thinking the victory won, dispersed to plunder when the Diwan led up his reserves in person and drove back the enemy at all points with great loss. Fateh Khan had already fled, believing Dost Muhammad to be slain, and the Afghan army driven out of Khairabad, retired upon Kabul, from where the Wazir led an expedition against Herat to endeavour to recover the reputation he had lost before Attock. The battle of Haideru was fought on the 13th July 1813.

In May 1814, the Maharaja was determined to invade Kashmir at the advice of Moti Ram, the son of Diwan Mohkam Chand. Against this invasion the Dewan remonstrated in vain. He urged that the season was not propitious, that no supplies had been collected on the Road, that the hill Rajas were hostile, but when he saw that Ranjit Singh was determined to try his fortune he asked leave to accompany the Army. But Mohkam Chand was now very old, his health was falling and the Maharaja desired him to remain at Lahore and preserve order during his absence.

In October the same year, Diwan Mohkam Chand died at Phillour to the great grief of the Maharaja and the whole Punjab. As a general he had been always successful, his administrative talents were as great as his military one, and in his death Ranjit Singh lost his most loyal and devoted servant. But there were other good men, left in his family. Moti Ram, his son, was made Dewan in his father's place and the Jalandhar Doab was entrusted to him, with the charge of the fort at Phillour. After the death of General Mohkam Chand, Maharaja Ranjit Singh speedily but cautiously treaded on the path, which his first commandership had chalked out for creating an Empire of which Punjabis would feel proud of, for all times to come.

By the year 1830, the Empire of the Greater Punjab and its dependencies touched the climax. It was a multi-racial, multi-lingual, multi-religions and multi-cultures sovereign state. It was laced with multi-geographical and physical features, interspersed with mountains, rivers, rivulets, streams, lakes, plains, deserts, cultivated, cultivable uncultivated and uncultivable barren lands full of all types of fauna an flora.

It was a secular state in real term, meaning and spirit, fulfilling all the conditions of the present day political interpretation of the *term secular*. In his keenness to stabilize the kingdom, the Maharaja had militarised the Punjabis of all religions, races, castes, creeds and communities and had raised a formidable army for its defence and perpeptuity.

Regarding the Diam ond, Jewels and wealth of the Lahore Darbar Mr. Adams Wengal Civilian accompanying the Governor General of India Lord Harding during the Punjab-British war 1845-45, writes as under:-

“The indemnity was also paid up. The duty of receiving it devolved upon colonel Johnstone, one of the Governor General's staff and myself. The coffers of the state had been long impoverished and did not afford sufficient money (in cash) to pay more than half the amount, so we agreed to receive the equivalent by weight in gold and silver bullions. The result was

that we were immediately surrounded by heaps of barbaric pearl and gold, the wealth of jewels and ornaments of all kinds, vessels of gold and silver of all sizes and uses such as I could fancy, must have adored Nevuchadvezzara (king of Babylone), came pouring in upon us. Each Sikh, as he deposited his costly burden SALAM to it and walking away without deigning to notice us—the receivers. This working occupied us for many days and the valuation of the different coinage and the various articles cost infinite wrangling and trouble”.

The documents given in this book have been obtained from the relevant files in the National Archives of India, Janpath Road, New Delhi. The authorities have been very helpful in this task. We thankfully acknowledge the debt of gratitude, we owe them. But for their assistance perhaps it would not have been possible for us to collect the whole material. After the British left India, creating Pakistan and Bharat, the politicians in both the countries in their public speeches talk of the return of the *KOH-i-NOOR*. Sometimes statements appear in the Press. The editors have no pretensions or claims to be politicians or jurists. POSSESSION is possession and no claim against it. The British possessed it and they shall possess it.

The book consists of four parts. In part A chapter I contains the official documents, personal letters of Lord Dalhousie and relevant extracts from the book *Recollections of Lady Login* regarding the *KOH-i-NOOR* and other matters connected with the world famous diamond from 29th March 1849 to 1858. Chapter second of this part is a traditional account of the diamond prepared by Sir Metcalf, Agent Lieutenant Governor North-West province, Delhi, along with the letters of the Deputy Commissioners of Lahore and Ludhiana giving the information about *KOH-i-NOOR*, obtained by them from local Jewellers.

Part B is particulars supplied to Her Majesty the Queen Empress regarding the disposal of the *KOH-i-NOOR* and other Jewels taken from the Lahore Darbar at the time of the annexation of the Punjab in 1849. This is a very important document on the subject. It was prepared by Sir James Dunlop Smith K.C.S.I., C.I.E. in April 1912.

Part C contains extracts regarding the KOH-i-NOOR from

- (i) *Memoirs of Zahir-ud-din Mahmud Babur, The Founder of the Mughal Empire in India.*
- (ii) *The Life and Times of Humayun* by Dr. Ishwari Parsad.
- (iii) *Travels in India* by James Baptisha Tavernier Appendix 'A' edited by W. Crooke.
- (iv) *History of the Sikhs* by Mc Gregor.
- (v) *History of the Sikhs* by Dany Joseph Cunningham.
- (vi) *The Life of the Marquis of DALHOUSIE* by Lee-Warney.
- (vii) *Lahore* by Syed Muhammad Latif Khan Bahadur, Fellow Punjab University 1894.
- (viii) *Annexation of the Punjab* and Maharaja Duleep Singh Bahadur.

PART D contains excerpts from CHAMBERS Encyclopaedia, *Encyclopaedia Britanica* and the *English Regalia*. We gratefully acknowledge the editors and authors of these valuable publications. The book would have remained incomplete without including excerpts from these authoritative publications.

We gratefully acknowledge the debt of gratitude we owe to Dr. K.R. Gupta of the Atlantic Publishers and Distributors (Regd.) for publishing the book.

We hope the readers would enjoy the account of the world famous diamonds and the ruby.

More inquiries from readers will be promptly replied.

26-1-1985

Nahar Singh
Kirpal Singh

PART—A

CHAPTER ONE

DOCUMENT 1

(Private Letters)

Camp Ferozepore, March 30th, 1849.

“On the 26th these news reached me officially. I had now “caught my hare.” On the 27th, accordingly, I sent Mr. Elliot, Government Secretary, to Lahore. On the 28th he arrived and saw the Regency—he most ably effected his mission, and yesterday the 29th, the Council of the Regency and the Maharaja signed their submission to the British power, surrendered the Koh-i-noor to the Queen of England; the British colours were hoisted on the Citadel of Lahore and the Punjab, every inch of it, was proclaimed to be a portion of the British Empire in India.

Six months ago I officially reported to the home authorities my opinion of the necessity of this policy. They have given me no definite instructions of any kind whatever. What I have done I have done on my own responsibility. I know it to be just, politic, and necessary; my conscience tells me the work is one I can pray God to bless; and I shall await the decision of the country with perfect tranquility. If the Government disapproves of my act, you will see me at Frogmore before summer is over. If they sanction and approve (as unless they are maniacs they must do), their approval will be full and conspicuous. It is not every day that an officer of their Government adds four millions of subjects to the British Empire, and places the historical jewel of the Mogul Emperors in the Crown of his own Sovereign. This I have done. Do not think I unduly exult.”.....

(DALHOUSIE)

DOCUMENT 2

**GOVERNOR GENERAL'S DESPATCH TO
SECRET COMMITTEE**

From

FOREIGN; SECRET DESPATCH
CAMP. SIDHAM.

No. 20 of 7th April, 1849.

To

The Hon'ble the Secret Committee

I have the honour and gratification of announcing to you, that the Ameer Dost Mohamed Khan and his army having been driven by the British troops from the province of Peshawar, the war in the Punjab is now at an end.

Several months ago when authentic intelligence was first received of the Ameer having actually entered Peshawar, I caused communications to be made to the Hill Tribes of the Khyber, calling upon them to stop the passes against the return of Dost Mohamed on the approach of the British troops and promising to them large rewards if they should so effectually oppose him or obstruct his passage as to enable our troops to overtake his army. Replies were received from them, full of fair promises which at one time induced me to hope, that they would act up to their word.

When the time, however, for action came, nothing was done by them. They pleaded as their excuse, that the extreme precipitancy of the Ameer's flight had not left them sufficient time to complete their preparations for opposing.

Although it would have been indefinitely satisfactory if the Afghans had ventured to face General Gilbert's army, so as to have given us the opportunity of inflicting upon them the punishment which their most wanton and insolent aggression had provoked, still the route of 3,000 of their number, under a son of the Ameer in the plain of Goojrat, and the ignominy,

with which they and their sovereign have been chased from the province of Peshawar, without ever venturing to exchange a shot with the British troops, is for us a triumph so complete as to leave us comparatively little to regret in his escape.

Under these circumstances I apprehend you will approve of my having been content with what had been effected, and with my having abstained from pursuing the Ameer through the Khyber, or following him into Kabul with a view to further punishment.

The time has now arrived when in accordance with the instructions contained in your despatch of 24th November 1848, it has become my duty to review in all its bearings the question of the further relations of the Punjab with the British Empire in India.

I need hardly say, that during the whole progress of the war this question has found the constant subject of my deep and most anxious consideration.

Many months ago, I had the honour of submitting to you an opinion, in which my colleagues in the Council of India entirely concurred that it had now become evident that the existence of the Sikh Nation as an independent power on our frontier was incompatible with the security of the British territories, and with the safety of those interests which we were bound to guard.

The events that have since come to pass have in no degree altered the conviction. I had then found on the contrary, each month as it has passed has produced occurrences, which have greatly fortified every argument, that was then employed and have confirmed me in my belief of the absolute necessity of adopting the policy, which I recommended.

Before stating in detail the consideration that have led me to the conclusion, I have formed, it will be convenient to trace briefly the course of events in the Punjab.

On the 29th of April 1848, intelligence having reached Lahore that Mr. Agnew and Lt. Anderson had been murdered at Mooltan, after the Sikh troops who were their escort had accepted the overtures of the Dewan Moolraj and had deserted them in a body, the Resident called upon the Durbar

to take measures for punishing those who had committed this gross outrage against the British Government.

After long consideration the Sirdars informed the Resident, that their troops and especially the regular army of the state could not be depended upon and would not obey their orders to act against Moolraj.

On the same day the Resident addressed to His Excellency the Commander-in-Chief a despatch pointing out the importance of military operations being immediately commenced against Mooltan if it was thought practicable to undertake them at that period of the year.

The Commander-in-Chief replied, that operations at that time against Mooltan, would be uncertain, if not altogether impracticable, while a delay in attaining the object would entail a fearful loss of life to the troops engaged and he gave his decided opinion against the movement which was proposed. The Resident concurred in His Excellency's view and the Governor-General in Council after full deliberation confirmed the decision.

As the wisdom and the propriety of this resolution subsequently have been questioned, I trust that you will permit me to repeat the declaration which was made to you at that time, that in referring to the opinion of His Excellency the Commander-in-Chief and the Resident I do not desire to throw upon others any portion of the responsibility which attaches to that resolution.

The decision was the decision of the Governor-General-in-Council and on him the responsibility must rest.

The question which the Governor-General-in Council was called upon to consider was a difficult and perplexing one.

On the one hand, it was impossible to doubt that if there existed in the minds of the people of the Punjab any inclination to rise against the British power, a delay in visiting outrage committed at Mooltan, and the apparant impunity of the offender, would give strong encouragement to an outbreak which might spread over the whole Punjab. On the other hand it was equally clear, that there would be serious

danger to the health and to the very existence of European troops, in commencing extended military operations at such a season of the year.

The risks which are incurred by the exposure of troops in carrying on military operations in the hot and rainy months are too well-known to acquire description or corroboration.

Whatever the danger of the season in Hindustan the Government of India had every reason to believe both from the information that had been received and from experience of the effects of climate in neighbouring provinces, that the ordinary danger would have been greatly aggravated to troops engaged in operations at Mooltan.

The fierceness of the heat of Mooltan is reputed to exceed that of any district and is such as to have passed into a proverb even in India.

The government were in possession of plans of the fortress, which though rude, were sufficient to show, that it was formidable in its character and would require time and ample means for its reduction.

We were already in the month of May. The distance which the troops had to transverse was considerable. As the garrison at Lahore could not be materially weakened with safety, sometime must have elapsed before troops could have been assembled and could have reached Mooltan.

Thus the toil of seige operation must have been commenced and carried on against a fortress of formidable strength, during the very worst season of the year and in the worst district in India.

The government conceived that there was good ground for his Excellency's belief that a fearful loss of life among the British troops would have been the consequence of this movement.

Moreover the sickness and loss of life would not have been the only danger, for this involved in itself the further danger of a necessary discontinuance of operations against the fort. The failures of these operations would have afforded even greater encouragement to risings in the Punjab than a

postponement of them would have given, while we should have been thereby compelled to enter on the subsequent struggle with a force greatly reduced both in strength and in confidence.

These were the grave considerations upon which the Government of India was called upon to determine.

It was a choice of difficulties, an alternative of evils, and the Government of India selected that which appeared to be the lesser evil of the two. I venture still to maintain that the decision was not an error. It is at all events satisfactory to me to know, that the course which I adopted in accordance with the opinion of the highest military authorities in this country, and in accordance also with the opinions of those in England who must be regarded by all as the highest authorities there on matters connected with warfare in India.

It is above all satisfactory to me to be known, that the determination was approved by those whom I have the honour to serve and that you not only cordially concurred in the resolution to abstain from all movement of British troops upon Mooltan until the season should admit of field operations, but that you entirely agreed with me in preferring the risk which might arise from delay in putting down insurrection to the certain difficulties of an immediate advance upon the revolted province.

Whether the immediate commencement at that time of the siege of Mooltan would or would not have averted the war that has occurred can never now be determined. But this at least is certain that if the short delay, which took place in punishing the murder of the British officers at Mooltan could produce a universal rising against us throughout all the Punjab, the very fact itself betokens the existence of a deep and widespread feeling of hostility against us, which could not long have been repressed.

The worst that can be alleged therefore against the delay is that it precipitated the crisis, and opened somewhat earlier to the Sikhs that opportunity for renewal of war, which sooner or later, so bitter a spirit of hostility must have created for itself.

In point of fact, however, no hostility was openly shewn beyond the district of Mooltan until after the British army had actually taken the field.

The detection of the attempts to seduce from their allegiance the sepoy's of the native army at Lahore, and the execution of the conspirators, one of whom was the confidential servant of the Maharanee, the immediate removal to Hindustan of Her Highness, whose complicity in these intrigues was distinctly shown, the measures taken against Bhaie Maharaj Singh, who with some thousand men was raising the country in the Rechné Doab, and the flight and dispersing of his followers all combined to keep down any manifestation of disaffection in the neighbourhood of Lahore.

The distinguished gallantry and energy of Major Edwards, for which he has justly received the highest approbation and reward from the Sovereign and from your Hon'ble court aided by the troops of our ally—the Nawab of Bahawalpur, under the command of Lieut Lake, prevented the extension of the outbreak beyond the limits of the province of Mooltan and confined the Dewan and his troops within the walls of his own fort.

At this juncture the Resident at Lahore directed the movement of a British force accompanied by a seige train to effect the reduction of the fort of Mooltan.

The Governor General-in-Council on receiving intelligence of the order having been publicly issued gave to it his confirmation, and in the beginning of September operations against the city were commenced.

While our troops were on their march towards Mooltan, Sirdar Chuttur Singh and the portion of the Sikh Army under his command declared open hostility in Hazara.

Raja Sher Singh and his troops on the very day after our attack on the Suburbs of Mooltan, followed Chuttur Singh's example. Shortly afterwards he moved towards the north, and was there met by all the troops of the state from across the Indus.

Finally the remainder of the Sikh army joined the standard of Chuttur Singh in Peshawar. The disbanded

soldiers and the people flocked to the army in thousands from the Manjha and proclamations were issued calling upon all to make war upon the British. The reduced condition of our revenue and the state of affairs both in India and in Europe, which held out little hope of any great or immediate improvement had rendered it the imperative duty of the Government of India to abstain from costly and extensive preparations for war, so long as any reasonable hope whatever existed of its being possible for us to avoid a war.

But when the grave events, which I have above recounted began to develop themselves, and when Raja Sher Singh openly joined the enemy, proclaiming a holy war against the English, the Government of India felt that every other consideration must give way to the necessity of preparing ourselves fully for the renewal of formidable war in the Punjab.

It was my conviction, that the occasion was one, which would require us to put forth all the resources of our power, for although the defeat of the Sikh army in 1846 was still recent, and their humiliation had been complete at that time, there appeared to me to be good ground for believing that means for carrying on a severe struggle were again at their disposal.

The official returns of the Durbar, seemed, that the regular army of the state, though very greatly reduced in numbers and power, was still by no means insignificant.

It consisted of 27,000 men including 5,000 Gorchurras or irregular Horse, and there could be no doubt, that on the first appearance of disturbance the soldiery, who had been disbanded after the defeat in the previous war, would join in crowds from their villages, under the leaders of the Khalsa.

In like manner, the official return showed, that nearly one hundred pieces of artillery could be brought into the field, and there were strong reasons for entertaining the suspicion, that when they were wanted, more guns would be forthcoming from among the Sirdars and Chiefs. The discontinuance of our operation against Mooltan, which had taken place in

September, rendered it a matter of the utmost moment that the next attack upon that fortress should be certain, and the capture of the place as speedy as possible. The strength of the fort was unquestionable and proportionate means were required for affecting its reduction and for maintaining ourselves at the same time against the Sikh army in the field.

It is at all times unwise to underrate an enemy. It would be unwise to do in this case, when we had recent experience of the courage, strength and the skill of the enemy, with whom we were again about to engage.

The result has shown, that my estimate of the power of the enemy was not a fallacious one.

That the fortress of Mooltan was in truth a place of strength will probably be acknowledged, when it is mentioned, that after operations were resumed, it sustained a siege by 15,000 British troops, and as many more irregulars, for a period of several weeks, receiving the fire of more than 70 pieces of artillery, from which nearly 40,000 shots and shells were poured into the place.

The Sikh army in the field has on every occasion been formidable in numbers as in skill and 60,000 men met us on the plain of Goojrat.

Lastly in all the actions of the war, under various officers and at different places, we have captured in the field or seized in fortresses more than 200 pieces of heavy and field artillery exclusive of the 40 guns of small calibres, besides a vast number of swivel pieces.

It was in anticipation of the powerful opposition which is indicated by the results, I have just mentioned that the Government of India resolved on the extensive preparations which were ordered.

Every regiment, which could be made available without rashly weakening the provinces in India was ordered to the frontier. The native army was immediately augmented; a reinforcement of European troops was applied for. The Government of Bombay was requested to despatch a strong division to Mooltan from the side of Scinde.

The Government of Fort St. George was solicited to supply its troops the places of additional regiments, which were ordered to be sent to the frontier from Bengal.

The order of the Government were executed with every possible expedition and before Christmas there was assembled in the Punjab exclusive of the garrison of Lahore and all in its rear an army of 38,000 effective men, with nearly 100 pieces of artillery and a seige train of 70 guns.

It is unnecessary for me to trace the progress of the campaign or to dwell again on the triumphant success which the army has achieved. These has been already most fully reported to you and the services of His Excellency and of the army under his command have been commended to your warmest approval and favour.

It is enough to say, that in every quarter our success has been complete. The fort of Mooltan has been reduced, Dewan Moolraj has been captured and will shortly be placed upon his trial for the offence of which he has been accused. The Afghans have been expelled from the Trans-Indus provinces. The chiefs who created the disturbances in the Jullundur are now in prison. The Sikh Sirdars and their troops routed at Goojrat shortly afterwards surrendered and were disarmed.

The Ameer of Kabul and his army has been driven out of Peshawar and there is not at this moment in all the Punjab a single man who is openly in arms against us.

Having thus traced the events of the prolonged campaign which commencing in July 1848 has now been brought to a close, I request you, Hon'ble Sirs, to mark the position in which this narrative shows that the British Government and the Nation of the Sikhs now stand towards one another.

The relations which existed between them, the duties and the obligations of each were marked out in the subsequent Articles of Agreement Concluded at Bhyrowal. The British Government has rigidly observed the obligations which the treaty imposed, and it has fully acted up to the spirit and letter of its contract.

It has laboured to prove the sincerity of its profession that it desired no further aggrandisement. It has maintained the government of the state in the Council of Regency. It has

advised the adoption of measures which improved the condition of the troops, and lightened the burdens of the people at large. It has given liberally the use of its forces to aid the administration of the state of Lahore. It has carefully avoided to offend by any of its acts the feeling of the people and has meddled with none of the national institutions and customs.

How have the Sikhs on their part, fulfilled the corresponding obligations which the treaty imposed upon them.

There is not one of the main provisions of the Agreement which they have not either entirely evaded or grossly violated.

In return for the aid of the British troops, they bound themselves to pay to us a subsidy of 22 lacs per annum.

From the day when the treaty was signed to the present hour, not one rupee has been paid. Loans advanced by the British Government to enable them to discharge the arrears of their disbanded troops have never been repaid, and the debt of the state of Lahore to this government, apart altogether from the vast expenses of this war, amount to more than 50 lacs of rupees.

They bound themselves to submit to the full authority of the British Resident, directing and controlling all matters in every department of the state.

Yet, when the British officers were murdered at Mooltan by the servants of a chief officer of their state, and after having been deserted by the troops of the Durbar who, unhurt went over previously to the service of the murderer, the Government of Lahore in reply to the Resident, neither furnished the offender nor gave reparation for the offence, but declared, that their troops, and especially the regular army of the state, were not to be depended upon, and would not act against the Dewan Moolraj.

The conduct of the Sikh troops in their various districts speedily justified our suspicion of their hostility.

Repressed for a time their disaffection broke out in one quarter after another, till ultimately nearly all the army of the state, joined by the whole Sikh people throughout the land, as one man, have risen in arms against us, and for months have been carrying on a ferocious war for the proclaimed purpose of destroying our power and exterminating our race.

Thus we see that not only has the control of the British Government which they invited, and to which they voluntarily submitted themselves, been resisted by force of arms, but peace has been violently broken, and the whole body of the Nation, army and people alike, have deliberately and unprovoked again made wars upon us.

If it should be alleged, that this has been merely the act of a lawless soldiery similar to that which was committed in 1845, and that it has been done against the will and in spite of the opposition of the Sirdars, I answer admitting it to be so, what justification does that furnish for them, or what security can the reflection afford to us.

That which we desire to see, that which we must have, as indispensably necessary for the future prosperity of the territories we already possess, is peace throughout our bounds. That which we desire to secure in the Punjab is a friendly and well-governed neighbour and a frontier without alarms and which does not demand a perpetual garrison of 50,000 men.

Of what advantage it is to us that the Council and Sirdars are friendly, if they have not the ability to control their army, which is hostile.

If the Sikh army and Sikh people are eager to seize and have the power of seizing on every opportunity of violating the peace, which we desire to render permanent; of what value to us as a state is the impotent fidelity of the Sirdars ?

But the fact is not so. Their Chiefs have not been faithful to their obligations. The troops and people having risen in arms; their leaders have been the Sirdars of the state, the signers of the treaties, the members of Council of Regency itself.

If you will refer to the roll which was lately transmitted to you of those who surrendered to Sir Walter Gilbert at Rawalpindi, and to other documents which have from time to time been forwarded, you will find there an array of names of the Sirdars who then surrendered and were disarmed.

Analyse it, and you will find there not merely men, who are of note in the Punjab, but the very chiefs whose signatures are affixed to the treaties of peace. For it is a shameful fact, that of the Sirdars of the state properly so called, who signed the

treaties, the greater portion have been involved in these hostilities against us.

If irresponsibility should be sought for the Sikh Nation in the statement that their government at least has taken no part against us—you will not admit that plea, when I acquaint you that, while the Regency during these troubles gave no substantial or effective assistance to the British Government, some of its Chief members have openly declared against us and one of them has commanded the Sikh Army in the field.

In the preceding paragraphs I have said more than once, that the Sikhs have risen in arms against the British. I request you to dwell upon the phrase for I desire to press upon your attention, the important fact that this rising in the Punjab has not been a rebellion against the Maharaja Duleep Singh—That on the contrary the Sikhs have constantly professed their fidelity to their Maharaja, and have proclaimed that it is against the British and the British alone, that this war has from the beginning been directed.

That the destruction of the British power and the expulsion of the British themselves was the real object of the war, and not an insurrection against the Maharaja and his government does not rest upon my assertion alone or upon inference. It has been avowed and declared by themselves in all their own letters and proclamations to the neighbouring chiefs, to Mohomedan power and to the native soldiers of the British Government.

I will only quote a single passage from one of those proclamations, which was issued by Raja Sher Singh. It sets forth distinctly and in few words the sentiments and object which are declared in all the similar documents, and fully establishes the correctness of the statement I have made. It runs thus :—

“By the direction of the Holy Gooroo, Raja Sher Singh and others with their valiant troops have joined the trusty and faithfully Dewan Moolraj on the part of Maharaja Duleep Singh with a view to eradicate and expel all the tyrannous and crafty Feringhees. The Khalsajee must now act with all their heart and soul.”

All who are servants of the Khalsajee, of the Holy Gooroo

and the Maharaja, are enjoined to gird up their loins and proceed to Mooltan”.

And the paragraph concludes with this truculent injunction addressed to the inhabitants of the Punjab.

“Let them murder all the Feringhees wherever they can find them.”

This is not all, not content with making war themselves upon the British, the Sikhs have laboured to induce other States and Sovereigns in India to attack us also.

There are in the possession of the government many letters which have been addressed by the Sikh chiefs to the neighbouring powers, Mussulman and Hindoo and Sikh, earnestly invoking their assistance, and the burthen of every letter is the necessity of destroying and expelling the British.

The bitterness of their enmity has carried them yet further still. No one ever thought to see the day when Sikhs would court the alliance of Afghans and would actually purchase their assistance by a heavy sacrifice. Yet their hatred to the British name has induced them to do even this. They invited the Ameer Dost Mahomed Khan from Kabul to their aid. They promised him as the reward of his assistance the province of Peshawar, and the lands which the King of Kabul formerly held possession which the Sikhs themselves valued beyond all price, which, for years they had struggled to obtain, and which they gained, and held only by vast expenditure of treasure and with the best blood of their race. The Ameer of Kabul came. He raised immediately the standard of Prophet in their land, defiled the temples of the Sikh religion, plundered their villages, and most brutally treated their people yet; for all that the Sikh Nation continued to court the Ameer of Kabul still. They have fought side by side with his troops, and after their defeat applied for the continuance of his assistance. So inveterate has their hostility to us proved to be that the securing of Afghan cooperation against the British has been sufficient to induce the Sikhs to forget their strongest national animosity and has in their eyes compensated even for

Afghan cruelty to their people and for Mohemedan insults to their religion.

Such Hon'ble Sirs have been the acts of faithlessness and violence by which the Sikh Nation has a second time forced upon us the evils of a costly and a bloody war.

If the grossest violation of treaties, if repeated aggression by which its national security is threatened and the interests of its people are sacrificed can even confer upon a nation the right of bringing into necessary subject on the power that has so injured it and is ready to injure it again; then has the British Government now acquired an absolute and undoubtable right to dispose, as it will of the Punjab, which it has conquered.

The British Government has acquired the right, and in my judgment, that right must now be fully exercised.

I hold that it is no longer open to this Government to determine the question of the future relations of the Punjab with British India, by considerations of what is desirable or convenient, or even expedient.

I hold that the course of recent events has rendered the question one of national safety, and that regard for the security of our own territories and the interests of our own subjects must compel us in self-defence to relinquish the policy, which would maintain, the Independence of the Sikh Nation in the Punjab.

I cordially assented to the policy which determined to avoid the annexation of these territories on a former occasion.

I assented to the principle that the government of India, ought not to desire to add further to its territories, and I adhere to that opinion still I conceive that the successful establishment of a strong and friendly Hindoo Government in the Punjab would have been the best arrangement, that could be effected for British India, and I hold that the attempt which has been made by the British Government to effect such a settlement of the frontier state, the moderation it has exhibited and its honest endeavour to strengthen and add the kingdom it had reorganized have

been honorable to its character and have placed its motives above all suspicion, whatever may now be its policy towards the Punjab.

Experience of subsequent events has shown us that a strong Hindoo Government, capable of controlling its Army and governing its own subjects, cannot be formed in the Punjab.

The materials for it do not exist, and even if they were to be found, it has now become evident, that the object for which the establishment of a strong Sikh government was desired by us would not thereby be accomplished.

The advantages which we hoped to derive from such a government were the existence of a friendly power upon our frontier, one which from national and religious animosity to the Mahomedan powers which lie beyond would be an effectual barrier and defence to us.

But we have now seen that the hatred of Sikhs against the British exceeds the national and religious enmity of Sikhs against Afghans so that far from being a defence to us against invasion from beyond, they have themselves broken again into war against us and have united the Mahomedan powers to join with them in the attack.

Warlike in character and long accustomed to conquest, the Sikhs must of necessity detest the British as their conquerors.

Fanatics in religion they must equally detest us, whose creed and whose customs are abhorrent to the tenets they profess.

It was hoped, that motives of prudence and self-interest might possibly counteract these feelings that the memory of the heavy retribution, which their former aggression brought upon them would have deterred them from committing fresh injuries, and that consciousness of our forbearance and conviction of our friendliness might have conciliated their good will or at least persuaded to peace.

Events have proved how entirely this hope must be abandoned. If, in less than two years after the Sutlej campaign they have already forgotten the punishment which was inflicted

by us and the generous treatment, they subsequently received and have again rushed into war against us, it would be folly now to expect, that we can even have, either in the feelings or in the reason of the Sikh Nation, any security whatever against the perpetual recurrence from year to year of similar acts of turbulence and aggression. There never will be peace in the Punjab so long as its people are allowed to retain the means and the opportunity of making war. There never be now any guarantee for the tranquility of India until we shall have effected, the entire subjection of the Sikh people and destroyed its power as an Independent Nation.

It may probably be suggested, that it would be well for us to avoid the appearance of extending our conquests over another India Kingdom; and politic to retain the Sikh Nation as an independent state, while we provided at the same time for our own security by introducing a larger measure of British control into the Government of the Punjab and by effecting such further changes as would place all actual power in our hands.

I am unable to recognize the advantage of such a course.

By the articles of Bhyrowal, the Government of the Punjab was entrusted to a Council of Native Chiefs subject to the authority of the Resident in every department of the State.

If a more stringent and really effectual control is now to be established, the army of the state must be reorganized and made directly subject to the orders of the Resident.

The native administration must be set aside and European Agency must be generally introduced. The Maharajah would be the Sovereign on the throne and the Punjab would be governed by British officers.

Short of this no change can be introduced which will give to the Resident any more effectual control than he has hitherto held.

But if this be done, if a British functionary is at the head

of the government, if European agents conduct the duties of civil administration, if the government of the chiefs is removed, if the army is (as it will be in such a case) entirely ours, raised, paid disciplined and commanded by British officers, then I say that it would be a mockery to pretend, that we have preserved the Punjab as an Independent state. I conceive, that such a policy would neither be advantageous to our interests nor creditable to our name. By maintaining the pageant of a throne we should leave just enough of Sovereignty to keep alive among the Sikhs the memory of their nationality, and to serve as a nucleus for constant intrigue. We should have all the labour, all the anxiety, all the responsibility which would attach to the territories, if they were actually made our own, while we should not reap the corresponding benefits of increase of revenue, and acknowledged possession.

Nor should we by such shifts gain credit with the powers of India, for having abstained from subverting the independence of the state. Native Powers would perceive as clearly as ourselves, that the reality of independence was gone and we should in my humble judgement neither gain honour in their eyes nor add to our own power by wanting the honesty and the courage to avow what we had really done.

It has been objected, that the present dynasty in the Punjab can not with justice be subverted, since Maharaja Duleep Singh being yet a minor can hardly be held responsible for the acts of the Nation. With deference to those by whom these views have been entertained, I must dissent entirely from the soundness of the doctrine. It is I venture to think, altogether untenable as a principle. It has been disregarded, heretofore in practice, and disregarded in the case of the Maharaja Duleep Singh himself.

When in 1845 the Khalsa army invaded our territories, the Maharaja was not held to be free from responsibility, nor was he exempted from the consequences of his people's acts. On the contrary, the Government of India confiscated to itself the richest provinces of the Maharaja's Kingdom,

and was applauded for the moderation, which had exacted no more.

The Maharaja was made to tender his submission to the Governor General in person, and it was not until he had done so that the clemency of the British Government was extended to him and his Government restored. Furthermore the Maharaja having been made to pay the penalty of the past offences of his people. Due warning was given him that he would be held in like manner responsible for their further acts. The Maharaja in reply acknowledging this warning, says, "If in consequence of the recurrence of misrule in my Government the peace of British frontier be disturbed, I should be held responsible for the same (December 1846).

If the Maharaja was not exempted from responsibility on the pleas of his tender years at the age of 8, he can not on that plea be entitled to exemption from a like responsibility, now that he is 4 years older.

As the Hon'ble company most fully approved of his being deprived of the fairest provinces of his Kingdom in consequence of the misdeeds of his people in 1846, it can not on the same principle condemn his being subjected now to the consequence of whatever measures the repeated and aggravated misdeeds of his people may have rendered indispensably necessary for the safety of the British interests. I sincerely lament the necessity by which we are compelled to depose from his throne a successor of Maharaja Runjeet Singh. But when I am firmly convinced that the safety of our own state requires us to enforce the subjection of the Sikh Nation, I cannot abandon that necessary measure, merely, because the effectual subjection of the Nation involves in itself the deposition of their prince. I cannot permit myself to be turned aside from fulfilling the duty which I owe to the security and prosperity of millions of British subjects, by a feeling of misplaced and mistimed compassion for the fate of a child.

Having thus adverted to the modifications of policy which might have been proposed, and objections which have

been suggested, I repeated the declaration of my conviction that we have no admissible alternative that as the only mode which is now left to us of preventing the recurrence of perpetual and devastating wars, we must resolve on the entire subjection of the Sikh people and on its Extinction as an Independent Nation.

We have been for the second time engaged in war with the most formidable enemy, we have yet encountered in India. They have resisted us through the course of a protracted and severe campaign.

The Ameer of Kabul, proclaiming himself the apostle of Islam, and calling on all true musulmans to unite in a Holy war against the English has joined his ancient enemies in order to make a combined attack upon us. This is no question of a province. This is a direct appeal to Mohomedan India.

If, having met this danger, crushed our enemies, and driven out the invader, we do not now occupy and hold as our own, every foot of the Sikh territory and of the province which have been forcibly taken by the Musulman from under the protection of the Britain, if we do not thus reduce to absolute subjection the people, who have twice already shaken our power in India, and deprive them atonce of power and of existence as a Nation,—if concession or compromise shall be made—, if in short the resolution which we adopted shall be anything—less than maintenance of our conquest hereafter, we shall be considered throughout all India, as having been worsted in the struggle.

We must make the reality of our conquest felt. The moderation, which was wise and politic before, would if repeated, after the experience we have gained, be the veriest feebleness now.

Hesitation on our part would be attributed not to forbearance but to fear; it would be regarded not as the result of a magnanimous policy, but as the evidence of a pusillanimous spirit.

It would encourage the hope of restoring supermacy in the minds of the states and people of India where hostility

perhaps is dormant but where it is not, and never will be extinct.

It would ensure the certainty that before many years had passed we should be called upon to renew the struggle which we have just triumphantly terminated, and it would unquestionably tend to bring about the time when the supermacy of the British power in India, might perhaps be contested on other fields than those of the Punjab. Although I have more than once stated to you that the Government of India did not desire and ought not to desire the conquest of the Punjab, I do not wish by any means to convey to you the impression that I regard the Punjab as a possession which it would be seriously difficult for us to maintain, or which would be financially unprofitable.

You are well aware that the Sikh people form comparatively a small portion of the population of the Punjab. A large proportion of the inhabitants and especially the Mohamedan people, peaceful in their habits and occupations, will hail the introduction of our rule with pleasure.

The Sikhs themselves are warlike in their character, turbulent and brave, but warlike and turbulent as they are, the Sikhs are not more so than the people of Rohilkund once were.

Disturbances doubtless will prevail for a time among them, outbreaks and local discontent may reasonably be expected to occur, but if their subjection shall now be rendered complete, if effectual measures be taken now to deprive them of the means of resistance or facilities for war, if vigilance be exercised over them, and if they shall hereafter be governed with justice, vigor and determination; I know no reason why the Sikhs should not be rendered hereafter as submissive and harmless as the people of Rohilkund now are. It would be premature at present to enter into the financial position of the question, except in very general terms. My attention has been given to the subject and I have found nothing in the consideration of it, which should deter us from assuming the country as a permanent possession.

The revenues are very considerable in the aggregate.

A large portion has hitherto been diverted from the public treasury in Jageers to the Chiefs. A considerable amount of revenue will now be recovered by the confiscation of the Jageers of those who have been engaged in hostilities against us.

The incorporation of the province of Mooltan with the rest of the Punjab will also add considerably to the available revenue.

The additional knowledge of the country which has been acquired of late, has shown us that in the northern portions especially, it is cultivated to a great extent, and productive in a high degree.

The soil, generally fertile, requires only moisture, to bring it into rich cultivation, which as appears from reports, which I have already received. The character of the rivers which divide the country, affords singular facilities for applying readily the means of developing the resources of the soil.

The expenses of entering on a new country must necessarily be heavy at the commencement, but as the result of the examination I have made, I have no hesitation in expressing a confident belief, that the Punjab will at no distant time be not only a secure but profitable possession.

I have thus fully laid before your Hon'ble Sirs, the grounds on which I have formed the conclusion, that having regard to events which have recently occurred it is indispensable to the security of the British territories and to the interests of the people, that you should put an end to the Independence of the Sikh Nation and reduce it to entire subjection.

The time having arrived, when it was necessary that the determination of the Government of India should be declared, I directed Mr. H.M. Elliot, Secretary to the Government to proceed to Lahore for the purpose of announcing to the Council of Regency the resolution I had formed.

The proceedings of Mr. Elliot at Lahore are separately reported to you full in detail.

After interviews with the members of the council, a public Durbar was held, when the note addressed to the Regency by the Governor General was read, the terms granted to the Maharaja which had been signed by the council were ratified by His Highness in like manner as the treaty of Lahore, and a proclamation was issued declaring the Punjab to be a portion of the British Empire in India. In liquidation of the accumulated debt due to this government by the state of Lahore, and for the expenses of the war I have confiscated the property of the state to the use of the Hon'ble East India Company.

From this confiscation, however, I have excluded the Koh-i-noor which in token of submission has been surrendered by the Maharajah of Lahore to the Queen of England.

If the policy which has now been declared, shall be confirmed I am confident you will sanction my having thus set apart the Koh-i-noor as a historical memorial of conquest and that the Hon'ble Court of Directors will cordially approve the act which has placed the Gem of the Moghuls in the Crown of Britain.

It only remains for me now, Hon'ble Sirs, to submit for your consideration the important affairs which have formed the subject of this despatch.

While deeply sensible of the responsibility, I have assumed, I have an undoubting conviction of the expediency the justice and the necessity of my act.

What I have done, I have done with a clear conscience and in the honest belief, that it was imperatively demanded of me by my duty to the State.

I entertain the hope, that the measures which I have adopted on your behalf will receive the sanction and approval of the Hon'ble Court. I have etc...

(Signed) DALHOUSIE

DOCUMENT 3

(Private Letters)

Simla, 16th August, 1849

The two letters notice the opposite views taken of my mode of dealing with the Koh-i-noor, &c. The Court, you say, are ruffled by my having caused the Maharajah to cede to the Queen the Koh-i-noor; while the 'Daily News' and my Lord Ellenborough are indignant because I did not confiscate everything to H.M., and censure me for leaving even a Roman Pearl to the Court. I am like—I was going to use the old simile, but it will, I take it, be more consonant with truth, and more soothing to my feelings, if I reverse the figure and say—I am like "a bundle of hay between two asses." I can't be wrong both ways, and I maintain I am right both ways. I was fully prepared to hear that the Court chafed at my not sending the diamond to them, and letting them present it to H.M. They ought not to do so—they ought to enter into and cordially to approve the sentiment on which I acted thus. The motive was simply this; that it was more for the honour of the Queen that the Koh-i-noor should be surrendered directly from the hand of the conquered prince into the hands of the sovereign who was his conqueror, than that it should be presented to her as a gift—which is always a favour by any joint-stock company among her subjects. So the Court of *directors*, ought to feel. As for their fretting and censuring, that I do not mind so long as they do not disallow the article. I know I have acted best for the honour of the Sovereign, and for their honour too. I do not work so much for General Galloway (Chairman of Court), or for the rotation crop of chairman under whom I may serve in the next three years, as for history; and there I know my act will stand straight and square. In the meantime, while the Court is grouching (inarticulately) at my having exempted the Koh-i-noor from the confiscation to the Company, up Jumps my Lord Ellenborough and says, "What business has this G.G. to confiscate anything to the Co.? It belongs to the Queen and the army have a right to demand it, and I tell you it is dangerous to refuse it".

DOCUMENT 4*(Private Letters)*

You are mistaken, however, in thinking that the disposal of the Koh-i-noor is objected to by many; by none except the "Four-and-twenty blackbirds baked in a pie" and a certain number of mercenaries in the army.

DOCUMENT 5

I undertook the charge of it in a funk, and never was so happy in all my life as when I got it into the Treasury at Bombay. It was sewn and double sewn into a belt secured round my waist, one end through the belt fastened to a chain round my neck. It never left me day or night, except when I went to D. Ghazee Khan, when I left it with Capt. Ramsay (who now has joint charge of it) locked in a treasure-chest, and with strict orders that he was to sit upon the chest till I came back. My stars. what a relief it was to get rid of it. It was detained at Bombay for two months for want of the ship, and I hope, please God, will now arrive safe in July. You had better say nothing about it, however, in your spheres till you hear others announce it. I have reported it officially to the court, and to her sacred Majesty by this mail.

DOCUMENT 6*(Private Letters)***Chini, September 1st, 1850**

I RECEIVED yesterday your letter of 16th July. The several sad or foul (attack on the Queen by Pate) events in England on which it touches have been mentioned by me heretofore, and they are too sad to recur to. You add that you hear these mishaps lie at my door, as I have sent the Koh-i-noor which always brings misfortune to its possessor. Whoever was the exquisite person from whom you heard this (nobody could be so stupid except Joseph Home), he was rather lame both on his history and tradition. Without going back to the first emperors who held it, I would observe that Nadir Shah who took it was usually reckoned well to do in the world throughout his life; and that Runjeet Singh who also took it, and became, from the son of a petty Semindar, the most powerful native prince in India, and lived and died the power most formidable to England, and her best friend, has usually been thought to have prospered tolerably. As for tradition, when Shah Shoojah, from whom it was taken, was afterwards asked, by Runjeet's desire, "what was the value of the Koh-i-noor" he replied, "Its value is Good Fortune; for whoever possesses it has been superior to all his enemies." Perhaps your friend would favour you with his authority, after this, for his opposite statement. I sent the Queen a narrative of this conversation with Shah Shoojah, taken from the mouth of the messenger.

DOCUMENT 7

Foreign Department Political
Despatch From Court of Director,
No. 13, of 15th May 1850

Later Reference, G.B. Sely No. 177-118

The Governor-General, letter dated 29th December 1849,
No. 58 and to the Governor-General's Secret letters dated

3rd May No. 23, 1849 p. 2

15th June No. 37 p. 2

22nd Sept. No. 61 1849 p. 2

Proceeding connected with the public property in the citadel of Lahore & Particularly the State Jewels, as well as those left by the Maharanee in her flight from Benaras.

The Lahore State Jewels exclusively of the Koh-i-Noor, were at first valued by Dr. Login at Rs. 16,41,035 of which a portion, to the value of one lac you have been permitted to be retained by Maharaja being reserved, pending our orders in further disposal. It was supposed that additional Jewels to the value of Rs. 50,000 might be discovered. A subsequent estimate by Dr. Login show Jewels of the value of Rs. 16,23,335 exclusive of these made over to, the Maharaja. The Jewels at Benaras by the Maharanee which were confiscated in consequence of the disconvey of her correspondence with the disaffected Sirdars in the Punjab are said to be of the value of about nine lacs of rupees.

If any of these Jewels are such as it is desirable on event of rarity just meaning rarity in size and therefore more marketable value or speciality workmanship, to retain as curiosities in our museum you will transmit them to us for that purpose. All which one, thus reserved, should be sold on account of government at the time and in the manner best adopted for obtaining a fair price.

Besides the jewels there appears to be much other property in the custody of Dr. Login including Rs. 7,61,743, in Gold, (apparently, Rs. 1,27,185 in silver independent of an amount of Rs. 77,925, 11.10 already sold to the shroffs) a value of Rs. 1,23,988, in Cashmere Shawls, Rs. 74,850, in Silks, and Military stores valued at about eight lacs. You will no doubt have adopted suitable measures for appropriating these articles or their value to the public service.

DOCUMENT 8

CHAPTER VI

Lady Login's Recollections (1820-1904) **Court Life and Camp Life**

LAHORE Treasury and The Koh-i-Noor page 73

“On the 6th April he (Mr. Login) was installed by Henry Lawrence, with The Governor General's sanction, as Governor of the Citadel and its contents, including all the political prisoners and harems of all the late Maharajas, Toshakhana, or treasury and its jewels and valuables amongst which was the Koh-i-Noor, kept always under a special guard, and also as Governor to the young dethroned King, Duleep Singh a very lovable, intelligent and handsome boy, of twelve years of age.”

Page 76

As “Killah-ka-Malik” (i.e., Lord, or Master) of Lahore Citadel, Login had complete authority there, had charge of all guards, stores, magazines and treasures, as well as the state prisoners. He had some European assistants and some sergeants of Horse Artillery, four European writers, and several

moonshees and *mutsuiddies*, to assist him in making out lists of the arms of all kinds, and of the vast camp-equipage of all the late rulers of the Punjab. Such a collection it was splendid Cashmere tents, carpets and purdahs, with horse and elephant trappings. My husband himself took the listing of the jewel department, with Misr Mekraj (the late Maharajah's Treasurer, whose family had been custodians of the Koh-i-noor for two or three generations) as Assistant-Keeper of the Toshakhana. The way in which jewels of the highest value were stowed away was extraordinary. On one occasion Login found some valuable rings, including one with a beautiful portrait of Queen Victoria, huddled together in a bag, and suggested that it would be well to tie a label to each with an account of their history and value, attaching it by a string, until the velvet rolls that he had ordered for them were ready. The next time he saw them they had all been strung on strings, dozen by dozen, like so many buttons; His first rough estimate of the jewels in the Toshakhana, *exclusive* of the Koh-i-noor, was little short of a million pounds.

The Koh-i-noor was always kept under a strong guard and in a safe in the Toshakhana. Lord Dalhousie, in his letters, relates how Login used to show it, on a table covered with black velvet, the diamond alone appearing through a hole cut in the cloth, thrown up by the blackness around it.¹ Before this arrangement was made, your father always followed the advice of the old native Treasurer when showing it to visitors, and continued the practice observed by Runjeet's Toshakhana officials, viz., never to let it out of his own hands, but twist the strings securing it as an armlet firmly around his own fingers.

The original stone, as most people know, was found in the mines of Golconda, and remained for generations in the possession of the Rajah of Malwa, from whom the Emperor Alad-deen obtained it by conquest. In 1526 it came into the hands of the Moghuls, till Nadir Shah, the Persian, who conquered Mohammed Shah in 1739, got it from his vanquished foe,

1. *Private Letters of the Marquess of Dalhousie* by J.G.A. Baird, pp. 124, 172.

by the clever ruse of exchanging turbans in sign of friendship; But Nadir's son, Shah Rokh, lost it to the Durani Ahmed Shah, and so it remained with the Afghan Dynasty, till Shah Soojah, when driven from Kabul by Dost Mahommed, brought it, in his flight, to the dominions of Runjeet Singh, who stipulated that the famous jewel should be the price of his hospitality and support to the fugitive. Shah Soojah exhausted every expedient to avoid giving it up, and as everything connected with the history of the jewel interests most people, you may like to hear the account which your father got from Misr Mekraj, who remained on as his assistant in charge at the Toshakhana, eloquent in his expressions of relief at being set free from the sole responsibility; for, as he said, "the Koh-i-noor had been fatal to so many of his family that he had hardly hoped ever to survive the charge of it."

According to Misr Mekraj, Shah Shojah-Ool-Moolk, at the time the Koh-i-noor was taken from him by Runjeet Singh, was in confinement, with his family, in the house of the Dewan Lukput Rai.

When the Maharajah's officers, amongst whom was Fakeer Azizodeen, came to him to demand the jewel, "he sent by their hands," says Misr Mekraj, "a large pookraj (topaz) of a yellow colour, which the Shah stated to be the Koh-i-noor." But the Maharajah's jewellers, who were sent for to test it, soon told him the trick that had been played. "He kept the topaz," writes the worthy Treasurer; but sent immediate orders to place the Shah under restraint (*tungai*) and to prevent him from eating or drinking until the Koh-i-noor demanded was given up, as he had attempted to impose upon the Maharajah. After this restraint had been continued about eight hours, the Shah gave up the Koh-i-noor to the Vakeels above named, who immediately brought it to the Maharajah in the Summun, where it was shown to the jewellers, who had remained with the Maharajah at the place until the return of the Vakeels. The Maharajah had dressed for the evening Durbar, and was seated in his chair, when the jewel was brought to him. It was brought in a box lined with crimson velvets, into which it had been fitted, and was presented to the Maharajah, who expressed great satisfaction.

“It was at that time set alone (singly) in an enamelled setting, with strings to be worn as an armlet. He placed it on his arm, and admired it, then, after a time, replaced it in its box, which, with the topaz, he made over to Beelee Ram, to be placed in the Toshakhana under the charge of Misr Bustee Ram Toshakhaneea.” Afterwards, under charge of Beelee Ram, it was carried along with the Maharajah, wherever he went, under a strong guard.

“It was always carried in a large camel trunk placed on the leading camel (but this was known only to the people of the Toshakhana), the whole string of camels, which generally consisted of about one hundred, being well guarded by troops. In camp, this box was placed between two others alike, close to the pole of the tent, Misr Beelee Ram’s bed very close to it, none but his relatives and confidential servants having access to the place.

“For four or five years it was worn as an armlet, then fitted up as a *sirpesh* for the turban, with a diamond drop of a tolah weight (now in the Toshakhana) attached to it. It was worn in this manner for about a year, on three or four occasions, when it was again made up as an armlet, with a diamond on each side *as at present*. It has now been used as an armlet for upwards of twenty years.”

Shortly before the death of Rujneet Singh, Rajah Dhyan Singh, Wuzeer, sent for Beelee Ram, and stated that the Maharajah had expressed by signs, for he was by then speechless, that he wished the Koh-i-noor to be given away in charity. But to this Misr Beelee Ram objected, saying that it ought to remain with the Maharajah’s descendants, and that already twenty-one lakhs of rupees, and jewels and gold, etc., had been given away to the Brahmins. When, therefore, Rajah Dhyan Singh obtained uncontrolled power, he threw Misr Beelee Ram into prison, where he was kept for four months, the keys of the Toshakhana being handed over to Tej Chund.

But on the accession of Maharajah Shere Singh, Misr Beelee Ram was at once again called into office, and continued during his reign.

Again, the day after Sher Singh's death, Beelee Ram was seized by Heera Singh's people and sent to the house of Nawab Sheik Imamoodem, by whom he was *disposed of* in the *Tykhana* (underground room) of his house, along with his brother and another official.

Beelee Ram's nephew, Gunesh Doss, who was with him at the time, was also put in confinement, along with six others of Beelee Ram's family, including Misr Mekraj. They still had to perform their duties in the Toshakhana, though the keys were taken from them.

Misr Mekraj's statement, which my husband counter-signed and preserved, concludes by saying that, "At Heera Singh's death, Misr Mekraj and his six relatives were released, and after the removal of Lal Singh from power, the charge of the Toshakhana and Koh-i-noor again came into the hands of Misr Mekraj, *with whom it continued without intermission until made over to Dr. J.S. Login on 3rd May 1849, when taken possession of by the British Government.*"

As to the notion that the Koh-i-noor brought ill-luck to its possessors, we know what Lord Dalhousie thought of such an idea.* He enumerates the long line of conquerors who held it, from Akbar to Runjeet Singh, and scoffs at the bare supposition; and then tells how when the last-named desired his plundered guest, Shah Soojah, to tell him the real value of the diamond, the latter replied: "Its value is 'good fortune,' for whoever holds it is victorious over his enemies." This anecdote was told by the "great Proconsul" Fakeer Noorooddeen, who had himself been one of the messengers from Runjeet Singh.

I, myself, of course, never saw all the magnificence of the treasures in the Lahore Toshakhana; but this is how they were described to me by my cousin, Colonel Robert Adams, afterwards, second-in-command of the Guides, and Deputy Commissioner at Peshawar, where he was assassinated by a Ghilzai in 1864.

"Citadel, Lahore,
"November 2nd, 1849.

*"Private Letters," etc., pp. 139, 395.

“.....I wish you could walk through that same Toshakhana and see its wonders; the vast quantities of gold and silver; the jewels not to be valued, so many and so rich; the Koh-i-noor, far beyond what I had imagined; Runjeet’s golden chair of State; silver pavilion; Shah Soojah’s ditto; Relics of the Prophet; Kulgee plume of the last Sikh Guru; sword of the Persian hero Rustom (taken from Shah Soojah); sword of Holkar, etc., and, perhaps above all, the immense collection of magnificent Cashmere shawls, rooms full of them, laid out on shelves and heaped up in bales—it is not to be described. And all this made over to Login without any list or public document of any sort; all put in his hands to set in order, value, sell, etc. That speaks volumes, does it not, for the character he bears with whose opinions are worth having? Few men, I fancy, would have been so implicitly trusted.”

By Login’s special request, the Governor-General raised Misr Mekraj to the rank of noble, as a mark of appreciation of his integrity.

In his letters to me from Lahore, Login mentioned to me on two occasions that Lord Dalhousie had paid private visits of inspection to the Toshakhana, but their real object was not revealed to me till two months had elapsed. On January 2nd, 1850, he wrote:

“.....It was a great relief to me to get away from Lahore.....Macgregor took over charge from me..... I got Moolraj, Chutter Singh, Sher Singh & Co. (the political prisoners), to sign a *Razeenama* in Persian, which they did with great readiness.....I shall deposit it along with the receipt for the Koh-i-noor, which was written by Lord Dalhousie, himself, in the presence of Sir H. Elliot, Sir H. Lawrence, Mansel and John Lawrence, and countersigned by them all. They also affixed their seals, as well as my own, to the State Jewels, when I delivered them over. This document will be worth keeping. I think, and something, for my children to look at when I am gone.”

Six months later, he says:

“Futtehghur,
“July 16th, 1850.

"I see by the papers that the Koh-i-noor arrived in England.....I was one of the *very few* entrusted with the secret of its disposal. Indeed, they could not have got access to it without my knowledge, seeing that it never left my possession from the day I received it in charge; I may tell you now that it is safe that Lord Dalhousie came to my quarters before he left Lahore, bringing with him a small bag, made by Lady Dalhousie, to hold it, and after I had formally made it over to him, he went into my room, and fastened it round his waist under his clothes, in my presence. Lord Dalhousie himself wrote out the formal receipt for the jewel, and there my responsibility ended, and I felt it a great load taken off me. All the members of the Board of Administration were present, and countersigned the document. The other jewels were also sealed up and made over.

"Thus Runjeet Singh's famous Toshakhana of jewels is a thing of the past."

The receipt itself is in this form:

"I have received this day from Doctor Login, into my personal possession, for transmission to England, the Koh-i-noor diamond, in the presence of the members of the Board of Administration, and Sir Henry Elliot, K.C.B. Secretary to the Government of India.

"(Signed) Dalhousie,*

"Lahore

"December 7th, 1849.

(Signed) "H.M. Lawrence,

C.G. Mansel.

John Lawrence.

H.M. Elliot.

* In the lately published "Private Letters of the Marquess of Dalhousie," edited by J.G.A. Baird, pp. 124, 172, occur the following reference to this incident :—

"The Koh-i-noor sailed from Bombay in H.M. *Medea* on 6th April. I could not tell you at the time, for strict secrecy was observed but I brought it from Lahore myself; I undertook the charge of it in a funk, and never was so happy in all my life as when I got it into the Treasury at Bombay. It was sewn and double-sewn into a

I think this account of the Koh-i-noor may be considered sufficient to dispose of a legend that has obtained very wide credence, and which it has even been attempted to father on Lord Lawrence, the very last man to have originated it, knowing as he did all the facts of the case.

To imagine for a moment that the Koh-i-noor, set an arm-let, as described by Misr Mekraj, and enclosed in a box, could ever have found a resting place in any person's waistcoat pocket, however capacious, is taxing too much the credulity of the average individual, and has caused infinite amusement to the large number of officials aware of the ceremonial always observed in its transit, and the strong guard placed over it both in and out of Toshakhana.*

My own connection with the famous jewel was non-existent at this period; but later on I will relate how I had a very close view of it, under circumstances historical and dramatic, of which I am now the sole surviving witness.

My husband often told me that the medley of articles in Runjeet's Toshakhana was indescribable. He found a fine portrait of Queen Victoria in a "go-down" (shed) among a heap of other valuables, all covered with dust; amongst them several good drawings and fine old engravings, and a little was-cloth bag containing a copy of Henry Martyn's Persian Testament,

belt secured round my waist, one end through the belt fastened to a chain round my neck. It never left me day or night, except when I went to Dera Ghazee Khan, when I left it with Captain Ramsay (who has now joint charge of it), locked in a treasure-chest, and with strict orders that he was to sit upon the chest till I came back. *My stars*, what a relief it was to get rid of it !"

* Sir John Login in after year remarked that his skill with the needle then stood him in good stead, as it was he who acted *dirsi*, and sewed the jewel securely into its chamois-leather wallet.

As time has gone on, the story has received fresh additions and we even find the late Duke of Argyll retelling it in an article in the Windsor Magazine in June, 1911, which gives the impression that John Lawrence actually pocketed the diamond before the astonished eyes of the native Treasurer and his master, while still the Maharajah of Lahore was an independent sovereign, on the plea that he would be a safer custodian than its legitimate possessor; and proceeded to make good this assertion, by rolling it in an old stocking, placing it on a shelf and forgetting all about it.

the fly-leaf inscribed "From Lady William Bentinck to Joseph Woff!" One of the largest emeralds ever seen was accidentally discovered set in the pommel of a saddle! The saddle had been already condemned to be broken up or disposed of, when the piece of *green glass* (as it was supposed) was observed, set in the position in which the Sikh noblemen often carry a mirror when riding in full dress, to make sure that turban and paraphernalia are all *en regle*.

Besides the jewels that he was allowed to pick out for the little Maharajah—you may be sure that he was careful they should be some of the finest ones—your father wrote to me from Lahore that he had taken care to select some of the best tents for his use, before any were made over for sale, and had ordered that those to be used for his servants and establishment be at once pitched on the parade ground in front, at the same time giving his people a plan of encampment to which they were always to adhere.*

"Now, when I tell you," he wrote, "that the tents for the little man himself are all lined some with rich Cashmere shawls, and some with satin and velvet embroidered with gold, *samianas* carpets, *pardahs* and floor-cloths to match, and that the tent-poles are encased in gold and silver (like a *chobedar's* mace), you may fancy that we shall look rather smart; I should say that for camp-equipage old Runjeet's camp was the very finest and most sumptuous among all the Princes of India!"

"As to the notion, that Koh-i-noor brought ill-luck to its possessors, we know what Lord Dalhousie thought of such an idea." He enumerates the long line of conquerors, who held it from Akbar to Runjeet Singh, and scoffs at the bare superstition and then tells how the last-named desired his plundered guest, Shah Shuojah, to tell him, the real value of the diamond, the later replied, "Its value is good fortune," for whosoever holds it is victorious over his enemies. This anecdote was told by "Great Proconsul," Fakir Noorooddeen, who had himself been one of the messengers from Runjeet Singh".

*A water—colour sketch of the Maharajah's camp was afterwards made by one of Lord Dalhousie's staff, and hangs in my house at Aylesford.

DOCUMENT 9**Foreign Political Consultations**

I have received this day from Dr. Login into my personal possession, for transmission to England, the Koh-i-noor diamond, in the presence of the Members of the Board of Administration, and of Sir Henry Elliot K.C.B. Secretary to the Government of India.

Lahore December 7, 1849.

Sd/- Dalhousie.

Sd/- K.M. Lawrence.

„ C.G. Mansel.

„ John Lawrence.

„ H.M. Elliot.

DOCUMENT 10

(Private Letters)

Page 107 Camp, 6 Marches From Lahore.

15th December 1849,

The Koh-i-noor story was never audibly grumbled over. Having succumbed to Ellenborough's motion claiming the whole Lahore property for the Queen, they could not have rebuked me for specially destining a part for her. I saw it when at Lahore, and was in no respect disappointed. It is a superb gem.

DOCUMENT 11

Foreign Poli. Department (Secret), Consulations

Bombay, 31st January 1850.

To,

The Hon'ble the Secret Committee of the Court of Directors.

Hon'ble Sirs,

I had the honour of acknowledging some time ago the receipt of your despatch directing me to transmit to England the gem called the Koh-i-noor, and enjoying that every possible precaution should be taken for its safety.

The state of my health having compelled me to have recourse to a short sea voyage, I resolved to undertake myself the conveyance of the jewel to Bombay; Believing that by so doing I adopted the plan best calculated to ensure its perfect safety.

I have accordingly conveyed it on my own person from Lahore and have placed it here in security.

It has been intimated to me that one of Her Majesty's steamships of War, now on the East Indian Station, will be forth with placed at my disposal. The ship has not yet arrived at this port; but I shall leave here instructions for the Officer in Command directing him to convey to England without delay the officers, to whom the duty of delivering the Koh-i-noor to the Hon'ble Court has been entrusted.

I have selected for this duty two gentlemen in whose integrity, discretion and judgement, the qualifications most necessary for such a task, I have the utmost confidence. Lt. Col. Mackeson G.B. is well known to your Hon'ble Committee. He has served with great distinction throughout his career, and as my political agent with the Army during the last war, he materially contributed, by his ability and judgement, to the accomplishment of that success of which the Koh-i-noor is the evidence.

Capt. Ramsay of H.M.'s 22nd Foot is my own kinman and holds the office of Military Secretary with me. I have entire confidence in his character and qualities, and I have for this reason associated him with Colonel Mackeson in the responsible duty with which they are charged.

Colonel Mackeson and Captain Ramsay have been directed to report their arrival in England to the Hon'ble Chairman, and to await on board instructions from the Court of Directors. I have the honor to request that some person or persons may be deputed to receive the Gem from these officers, or that such specific instructions may be issued to them as the Hon'ble Court may think right.

It is my earnest hope and belief that Colonel Mackeson and Captain Ramsay will execute their trust judiciously and successfully, and in such case I take the liberty of commanding them heartily to the grace and favour of your Hon'ble Court and of Her Majesty's Government.

I have &c.

Bombay
31st January, 1850.

Sd/- Dalhousie.

DOCUMENT (12 F.P.C.)

LIEUTT. COLONEL MECKESON C.B.
& CA. & CA. & CA.

Sir,

Having received instructions from the Hon'ble Court of Directors to transmit to England the gem called the Koh-i-noor with every possible precaution for its safety, I have brought the jewel from Lahore to Bombay in my own possession.

Entertaining full confidence in your integrity, discretion and judgement, I have resolved to entrust to in conjunction

with Captain Ramsay my Military Secretary, the duty of conveying it from hence to England; and I have this day delivered it into your charge.

It has been intimated to me that H.M. Steamship Medea will be placed immediately under my orders. On the arrival of this ship at Bombay you will be so good as to deliver to the officer in command the enclosed despatch which contains the instructions necessary for his guidance.

On his intimating to you that the ship is ready to proceed to England. You will convey your charge on board and will endeavour to reach your destination with as little delay as possible.

Every possible precaution must be taken by you for its safe conveyance on board the ship, and for its custody under the joint care of Captain Ramsay and yourself during the voyage.

When you reach England you will forthwith report your arrival to the Chairman of the Hon'ble East India Company forwarding at the same time the enclosed despatches to the Chairman of the Court and to the President of the Board of Control. You will then await on board the receipt of instructions from the Hon'ble Court of Directors.

On delivering the Koh-i-noor into the hands of the person or persons appointed to receive it, you will obtain their signatures to the enclosed receipts, two of which you will transmit to the Government of India by the earliest opportunity.

You will be so good as to report to me your departure for England, and any occurrence which it may be desirable to communicate to the Government.

I have &c.
Sd/- Dalhousie..

Bombay,
1st February, 1850.

DOCUMENT 12A (F.P.C.)*COPY (SPECIMEN) ED.*

The Gem termed the Koh-i-noor has this day been received by for the Hon'ble Court of Directors from Lieutenant Colonel Mackeson C.B. and Captain Ramsay H.M.'s 22nd Foot, by whom it has been conveyed to England on the part of the Governor-General of India.

DOCUMENT 13 (F.P.C.)*To,*

CAPTAIN JAMES RAMSAY,

MILITARY SECRETARY TO THE GOVERNOR-GENERAL
& CA & CA.*Sir,*

Having received instructions from the Hon'ble Court of Directors to transmit to England the gem called the Koh-i-noor with every possible precaution for its safety, I have brought the jewel from Lahore to Bombay in my own possession.

Entertaining full confidence in your integrity, discretion and judgement, I have resolved to entrust to you in conjunction with Lieutt. Colonel Mackeson C.B., the duty of conveying it from hence to England, and I have this day delivered it into your charge.

It has been intimated to me that H.M. Steamship Medea will be placed immediately under my orders. On the arrival of this ship at Bombay, you will be so good as to deliver to the officer in command the enclosed despatch which contains the instructions necessary for his guidance.

On his intimating to you that the ship is ready to proceed to England, you will convey your charge on board and will endeavour to reach your destination with as little delay as possible.

Every possible precaution must be taken by you for its safe conveyance on board the ship, and for its custody under the joint care of Lieutenant Colonel Mackeson and yourself during the joint care of Lieutenant Colonel Mackeson and yourself during the voyage.

When you reach England you will forthwith report your arrival to the Chairman of the Hon'ble East India Company forwarding at the same time the enclosed despatches to the Chairman of the Court and to the President of the Board of Control. You will then await on board the receipt of instructions from the Hon'ble Court of Directors.

On delivering the Koh-i-noor into the hands of the person or persons appointed to receive it, you will obtain their signatures to the enclosed receipts, two of which you will transmit to the Government of India by the earliest opportunity.

You will be so good as to report to me your departure for England and any occurrence which it may be desirable to communicate to the Government.

Bombay,
1st February 1850.

I have &c.
Sd/- Dalhousie.

DOCUMENT 14 (F.P.C.)

To,

**THE OFFICER COMMANDING
H.M.'s S. MEDEA.**

Sir,

It has been intimated to the Governor-General that Her Majesty's steamship Medea would be ordered to proceed to Bombay and would be there placed at His Lordship's disposal.

In order to prevent the delay which must be caused by a reference to the Governor-General for instructions. I am directed by the Governor-General to request you, in the event of your arriving at Bombay, with such orders from the Lords Commissioners of the Admiralty as are above described, to complete as speedily as possible your preparations for the return of H.M.'s Steamship Medea to England.

You are requested to receive on board Lieutenant Colonel Mackeson C.B. and Captain Ramsay, Military Secretary to the Governor-General, who have been ordered to proceed to England on the part of the Government of India, and who have received their instructions.

You are requested to provide separate accommodation for these officers; and having received them on board with their effects you will be so good as to make the best of your way to England, reporting your arrival to the Lords Commissioners of the Admiralty.

**Bombay,
the 1st February 1850.**

I have &c.
Sd/- H.M. Elliot.

DOCUMENT 15 (F.P.C.)*From,*

THE SECRETARY, TO THE GOVERNMENT OF INDIA,
WITH THE GOVERNOR-GENERAL.

To,

THE SECRETARY TO THE GOVERNMENT FINANCIAL
DEPARTMENT, BOMBAY.

Sir,

I am directed by the Most Noble the Governor-General to request that you will receive the accompanying despatch Box and will preserve it carefully in your custody in the Government Treasury until instructions are delivered to you for its future disposal.

I have &c.

Sd/- H.M. Elliot.

Secretary to the Govt. of India.
with the Governor-General.

Bombay,

the 1st February 1850.

DOCUMENT 16 (F. Poll-C)**Bombay Castle, 1st February 1850.**

Received in deposit for safe custody in the Hon'ble Company's Treasury from the Financial Secretary to the Government of Bombay one red Despatch Box with Company's arms marked "Foreign Department G.G." by order of the Most Noble the Governor-General of India.

Sd/- J.W. Muspratt.
Sub-Treasurer.

1 red Despatch Box.

DOCUMENT 17 (For. Poll. Cons.)**To,****LIEUTENANT COLONEL MACKESON, C.B.****CAPTAIN RAMSAY.****Gentlemen,**

Since addressing you today regarding the Koh-i-noor, I have considered it expedient to deposit it for safe custody until the arrival of the Medea, in the Treasury at Bombay.

You will see it deposited there this day, and when the Ship is fully prepared to sail, you will deliver to the Financial Secretary the enclosed letter and with it a requisition signed by both of you whereupon he will deliver to you the despatch box in which the jewel is placed.

Bombay
1st February 1850.

I have &c.
Sd/- Dalhousie.

DOCUMENT 18 (F.P.C.)

We have this day received from the Governor-General of India the gem called the Koh-i-noor to be by us conveyed to England in pursuance of instructions furnished to us.

The jewel was in our presence deposited in a small iron safe, the key of which, was delivered to Lieutenant Colonel Mackeson and which was enclosed and sealed with the Governor-General's seal. The iron box was placed in a despatch box the key of which was delivered to Captain Ramsay and which was also enclosed and sealed with the Governor-General's seal.

The despatch box was thereafter deposited in our presence in the Treasury at Bombay for safe custody until the arrival of H.M. Ship Medea.

In our presence;

Sd/- H.M. Elliot, Secy. to Govt.

Sd/- F.F. Courtenay, Private Secy.

Sd/- F. Mackeson.

Brevet Lt.Col.14th Regt.

N.I.

Sd/- J. Ramsay, Capt.22nd
Regt. Military Secy. to
the Governor-General.

Bombay 1st February. 1850.

DOCUMENT 19*To*

**THE FINANCIAL SECRETARY,
OF THE GOVERNMENT OF BOMBAY.**

Sir,

I am directed by the Governor-General to request that you will deliver to Lieutenant Colonel Mackeson C.B. and Captain Ramsay H.M's 22nd Foot, the despatch box which was this day given into your custody by order of the Governor-General. You will deliver the box to these Officers on a joint requisition signed by both of them.

Bombay.
1st February 1850.

I have &c.
Sd/- H.M. Elliot.

DOCUMENT (20 F.P.C).

From,

H.E. GOLDSMID ESQUIRE,
SECRETARY TO THE GOVERNMENT OF BOMBAY.

To

SIR H.M. ELLIOT K.C.B.
SECRETARY WITH THE MOST NOBLE THE
GOVERNOR-GENERAL OF INDIA.

Sir,

I have the honour to forward a receipt from Lieutenant Colonel Mackeson C.B. and Captain Ramsay H.M. 22nd Foot, for the Despatch Box lodged in your presence in the General Treasury on the 1st February 1850 and made over to them by me this day on their presenting your letter of the 1st February.

I have &c.

Bombay Castle,
The 6th April 1850.

Sd/- H.E. Goldsmid.
Secy. to Govt.

DOCUMENT 21 (F.P.C.)

Received from the Financial Secretary, Bombay Government, the Despatch Box, lodged in the General Treasury on the 1st February 1850, by Sir Henry Elliot, Secretary with the Most Noble the Governor-General.

General Treasury
Bombay Castle.
6th April 1850.

Sd/- F. Mackeson.
Brevet Lt.Colonel. 14th Regt. N I.

34303

DOCUMENT 22 (F.P.C.)*To*

THE MOST NOBLE
THE MARQUISS OF DALHOUSIE, K.T.
GOVERNOR-GENERAL OF INDIA.

My Lord,

I have the honour to report the arrival at Bombay on the 30th ultimo of H.M.'s Ship Medea, Captain Lockyer Comdr. to whom the letter containing your Lordship's instructions was duly delivered by Captain Ramsay and myself; and Captain Lockyer having intimated that his ship was ready for sea, we have this day conveyed the gem called the Koh-i-noor in safety on Board, and are now leaving the harbour in H.M.'s Ship Medea.

H.M. Ship Medea.
Bombay Harbour,
April 6th, 1850.

I have &c.
Sd/- F. Mackeson.
Capt. and Brevet Lt. Col.
14th Regiment N.I.

DOCUMENT 23 (F.P.C.)

H.M. Ship 'Medea'
Bombay Harbour,
April 6th, 1850.

To,

**THE MOST NOBLE,
THE MARQUISS OF DALHOUSIE K.T.
GOVERNOR-GENERAL OF INDIA.**

My Lord,

I have the honour to report the arrival at Bombay on the 30th ultimo of H.M. Ship Medea Captain Lockyer Commanding, to whom the letter containing your Lordship's instructions was duly delivered by Lieutenant Colonel Mackeson and myself, and Captain Lockyer having intimated that his ship was ready for sea. We have this day conveyed the gem called the Koh-i-noor in safety on board, and now leaving the harbour in H.M. Ship "Medea".

I have &c.
Sd/- J. Ramsay, Captain,
Mily. Secy. A.D.C.

DOCUMENT 24*(Private Letters)***Dak Bungalow,
April 16th, 1850.**

The Koh-i-noor sailed from Bombay in H.M.S. Medea on 6th April. I could not tell you at the time, for strict secrecy was observed, but I brought it from Lahore myself. *Zemindar*, the most powerful native prince in India, lived and died. The power most formidable to England, and her best friend, has usually been thought to have prospered tolerably. As for tradition, when Shah Shoojah, from whom it was taken, was afterwards asked, by Runjeet's desire, "what was the value of the Koh-i-noor?" he replied, "Its value is good Fortune; for whoever possesses it has been superior to all his enemies. "Perhaps your friend would favour you with his authority, after this, for his opposite statement. I sent the Queen a narrative of this conversation with Shah Shoojah, taken from the mouth of the messenger.

DOCUMENT 25 (F.P.O.)**Foreign Department.
SIMLA
The 14th May 1850.***To***THE HON'BLE THE COURT OF DIRECTORS,
OF THE EAST INDIA COMPANY.***Hon'ble Sirs,*

In the despatch of the 1st August last No. 24, your Hon'ble Court directed me to transmit the gem called the Koh-i-noor, to England "Every possible precaution being taken for its

safety," I took immediate measures for carrying their orders into effect ; and I have now the honour to report my proceedings for their information.

2. I having been compelled reluctantly by the state of my health to repair to the sea coast, I resolved to take charge myself of the Koh-i-noor as far as the port of Bombay. Intimation was made to me demi-officially that one of Her Majesty's ships of war would there be placed at my disposal for its conveyance to England; and I thereupon selected two officers, in whose charge it should be placed during the voyage.

3. I nominated for this duty Lt. Col Mackeson C.B. of E.I. Company's army, and my Military Secy. Capt. Ramsay of H.M. 22nd Regt. of foot. In making my selection I had regard solely to the appointment of officers possessed of those personal qualities which were essential for a charge of so much delicacy and responsibility. During the late war Lt. Col. Mackeson, as my confidential agent with the Army, had afforded me abundant proofs of his judgment and discretion, and had in every respect maintained and increased the high character he enjoyed before, Capt. Ramsay, is my own kinsman, holding a high office near, me. I repose entire confidence in his integrity, judgment and discretion as in those of Lt. Col. Mackeson, and after careful consideration I could select the two officers better fitted than they for the charge which has been entrusted to them.

4. On the day before I left Lahore in December 1849 I received the Koh-i-noor from Dr. Login, in the Citadel in the presence of the Members of the Board of Administration and of the Secretary to the Government, and I conveyed it, constantly attached to me own person, in safety to Bombay.

5. On the 1st February 1850, I again embarked: HER Majesty's ship Medea which had been placed at my disposal had not reached that port; so that it became necessary to provide for the safe custody of the jewel, until the ship should arrive.

6. I delivered the Koh-i-noor on that day into the joint custody of Lt. Col. Mackeson C.B. and Capt. Ramsay, in the presence of Sir H. Elliot Secy. to the Govt. of India, and F. Courtenay Esq. my private Secretary. The gem with its cords

was carefully packed in a small iron box, which was locked and the key of it delivered to Lt. Col. Mackeson. The box was surrounded by a fastening and sealed with the Governor-General seal. The iron box, thus secured was enclosed in a despatch box, which was then locked and the key of it delivered to Capt. Ramsay. The despatch box was likewise surrounded by a fastening and sealed with my seal.

A letter was then addressed to the Secretary to the Government of Bombay requesting him to receive the despatch box and to retain it in his custody, in the Government Treasury until further orders.

7. The box was accordingly deposited in the treasury on that day, and a receipt for it was given by the Sub-Treasurer. Another document signed by Col. Mackeson & Capt. Ramsay and witnessed by Sir. H. Elliot and F. Courtenay was also given testifying to the receipt of the Koh-i-noor from me by those officers and also to its deposit in the Treasury at Bombay.

8. Full instructions were given to Col. Mackeson and Capt. Ramsay for their guidance.

They were directed on the arrival of the Medea to deliver to the officer in command the letter, from Secretary to Government of India, requesting him to receive on board the above mentioned officers, and to convey them to England, where they had been ordered to proceed by the Government of India. The Hon'ble Court will observe that no mention whatever made of the purpose for which they have been sent. That the officers in command of the ship has no knowledge of the conveyance of the Koh-i-noor, and no responsibility for it is that I apprehend he can have no claim for the freight usually allowed for such services, an imigration of some moment, where the article conveyed is of so large an intrinsic value as in the present case.

9. When the ship was prepared for sea Col. Mackeson and Capt. Ramsay were instructed to deliver to the Secretary to the Government of Bombay a letter from the Secretary to the Government of India requiring him to deliver to them on their joint requisition the despatch box which was deposited in his custody on the 1st February.

They were directed to take every possible precaution for the safe conveyance of their charge on board the ship, and for its custody during the voyage. On their arrival in England they were directed forthwith to report their arrival to the Chairman of the Honourable East India Company; to await on board the instructions of the Hon'ble Court; and on delivering up their charge to obtain receipts for the same, as well for themselves as for the Government of India.

A demi-official despatch to the Chairman and one to the President of the Board of Control were also to be delivered. The official intimation of the despatch of the jewel from India was reserved until their despatch, I had reported, and is now to be transmitted overland.

They were further directed to report to me their departure from Bombay and any occurrence which might be desirable to communicate.

10. Her Majesty's Ship Medea did not reach Bombay till the 31st of March nearly two months, after my departure. This delay is to be regretted, had the causes of it will doubtless be satisfactorily explained to the Lords. Commr. of the Admiralty.

11. On the 6th April the ship sailed for England. Col. Mackeson and Capt. Ramsay reported that date having conveyed the Koh-i-noor safely on board; and the Government of Bombay likewise reported having delivered to them the despatch box which had been deposited in the Treasury there.

12. Copies of the several instructions and documents which have been mentioned in this minute will be annexed to the despatch. Together with these be sent extracts from references to regarding the past history of the Koh-i-noor which I have endeavoured to procure from the Royal Family at Delhi, from the family of Shah Shoojah at Loodiana, and few members of the Durbar and officers of the former Government at Lahore.

13. I have been this minute in my description of the several measures that have been taken, in order to satisfy the Hon'ble Court that I have carefully obeyed their instructions, to take every possible precaution for the safety of the Koh-i-moor in its transmission to England. The strictest secrecy was

enjoined upon all of the very few persons who were necessarily cognizant of the facts I have now detailed, and so far as I know, those injunctions were attended, to. Nevertheless I perceive from the newspapers that rumours of the purpose for which the Medea proceeded to Bombay and of the duty with which Col. Mackeson and Capt. Ramsay were charged have obtained circulation. I regret that in spite of every care this should be the case; but I trust that no risk or inconvenience will now result from it.

14. I have perfect confidence, that, if a safe voyage across the seas be vouchsafed to them, Col. Mackeson and Capt. Ramsay will prudently and successfully discharge the duty with which they have been entrusted. If such should be the case, and the service should be performed to the satisfaction of the Court, I beg very earnestly to recommend these officers to their favour and consideration. No conditions have been made by them, nor any remuneration or reward fixed. Lt. Col. Mackeson was proceeding to England on leave for a few months when I proposed to him to undertake this duty. I have already placed on record my estimate of the very valuable service which I received from this officer during the war in the Punjab. His past services thro' a senior officers are before the Hon'ble Court, and I sincerely trust that some mark of favour and distinction may be obtained for him. Capt. Ramsay has accompanied him at my request; he necessarily loses during his absence all the emoluments he enjoys as Mily. Secy. and A.D.C. on my staff, and I earnestly solicit for him to the good offices of the Court, in obtaining for him such advantages as the successful executive of an anxious and responsible duty may seem to them to merit.

I annex a list of documents which together with this minute, at my request may now be recorded in the Secret Department.

A despatch forwarded on the minute will be addressed to the Secret Committee and with the copies of the papers mentioned will be despatched by this mail.

Papers to be recorded.

1. Letter to Secy. to Govt. of Bombay, Feb. 1, 1850.

2. Receipt from Sub-Treasurer at Bombay, Feb. 1, 1850.
3. Receipt for Koh-i-noor from Lt. Col. Mackeson & Capt. Ramsay, Feb. 1, 1850.
4. Instructions to Lt. Col. Mackeson, C.B. Feb. 1, 1850.
5. -do- to Col. Mackeson & Capt. Ramsay, Feb. 1, 1850.
6. -do- to Col. Mackeson & Capt. Ramsay, Feb. 1, 1850.
7. Letters to Officer Comg. H.M.S. Medea, Feb. 1, 1850.
8. Letter sent to Govt. of India to Govr. Genl. of Bombay Feb. 1, 1850.
9. Receipt to be taken by Col. Mackeson & Capt. Ramsay.
10. Letter Lt. Col. Mackeson to G.G. April 4, 1850.
11. -do- from Capt. Ramsay to G.G. dated April 6, 1850
May 13, 1850.

Sd/- Dalhousie

DOCUMENT 26 (F.P.O.)

Minute by the Most Noble the Governor-General of India dated Simla, 31st May 1850.

Receipt for Koh-i-noor.

Dr. Login had the custody of the Koh-i-noor diamond at Lahore. He got a receipt for it when I took the gem. This he has recently lost by robbery.

I replace it, as explained by the accompanying memorandum. I think it as well to record this with the other papers regarding the Koh-i-noor.

Simla, May 31st, 1850.

Sd/- Dalhousie

DOCUMENT 27

Memorandum by the Most Noble the Governor-General of India dated Simla the 31st May 1850.

Dr. Logan recently informed me that on his journey to Futtehghur, a box was stolen from him, containing the receipt for the diamond called the Koh-i-noor, which I gave him on taking possession of the gem on December 7, 1849.

That receipt was executed in duplicate, and one of the documents was kept by me. From that original document I now annex a copy, to replace that which Dr. Login has lost.

Simla, 31st May, 1850.

Sd/- Dalhousie

DOCUMENT 28

Our Governor-General of India in Council.

1. We received on the 29th ultimo (June) the Despatch, from the Governor-General in the Foreign Department dated at Simla the 14th May last, reporting the proceeding adopted by His Lordship under the directions contained in our Despatch of the 1st August 1849 regarding the transmission to England of the Gem called the Koh-i-noor. The measures so reported and the instructions given by the Governor-General to Lt. Colonel Mackeson C.B. of the Bengal Establishment and Captain J. Ramsay of H.M. Service and Military Secretary to the Governor-General who were selected by His Lordship to take charge of the Koh-i-noor from Bombay have our entire approval.

2. Lieutenant Colonel Mackeson and Captain Ramsay arrived on board H.M. ship "Medea" at Portsmouth on the 30th ultimo and on the 2nd Instant delivered the Koh-i-noor to our Chairman and Deputy Chairman, who gave to those officers

a receipt for the same on the part of the Court of Directors of which a copy is herewith enclosed. Lt. Colonel Mackeson and Captain Ramsay subsequently addressed a letter to our Secretary explaining the course pursued by them on taking the Koh-i-noor out of the Treasury at Bombay, and thence to the measures they subsequently adopted for its safe custody and disposal to which letter a reply was transmitted informing those Officers that their explanation was entirely satisfactory. Copy of this correspondence likewise forms an enclosure in the present Despatch.

3. Immediately after the Koh-i-noor had been placed in their custody our Chairman and Deputy Chairman reported the circumstance to the President of the Board of Commissioners for the Affairs of India and requested that he would have the goodness to take the Queen's commands regarding the time when Her Majesty would be graciously pleased to receive the Chairman and Deputy Chairman for the purpose of delivering this celebrated Jewel to Her Majesty.

4. In consequence of this communication our Chairman and Deputy Chairman had on the 3rd instant an audience of the Queen to which they were introduced by the President of the India Board and they then delivered the Koh-i-noor over to Her Most Gracious Majesty.

5. Our Chairman and Deputy Chairman have requested that the President of the India Board will take steps for bringing under the consideration of Her Majesty the services of Lt. Colonel Mackeson and Captain Ramsay in view to their obtaining some mark of the Royal Favor for the satisfactory manner in which they have discharged the confidential and responsible duty with which they were entrusted.

6. With respect to the position of these Officers during the period for which they have been so employed we have determined that Lt. Colonel Mackeson who is stated to have been about to proceed to England on leave when the Governor-General proposed to him to undertake the duty shall be considered as on service up to the date (the 2nd Instant) when the Koh-i-noor was delivered over to our Chairman and Deputy Chairman, and as regards Captain Ramsay we have determined that he shall be likewise considered as on service, and be-

permitted to draw his Indian allowances during this absence from India provided that he take his departure on his return thither within the period of three months from the date of his arrival in this country.

London
The 24th July 1950.

We are,
Your affectionate friends,
Sd/- John Shepherd & 12
others.

DOCUMENT 29

Foreign Department,
Simla.
The 15th August, 1850.

To,

THE HON'BLE THE COURT OF DIRECTORS,
OF THE EAST INDIA COMPANY.

Hon'ble Sirs,

I have received this day a despatch from Lieutenant Colonel Mackeson and Captain Ramsay reporting that her Majesty's Ship "Medea" had safely arrived in England, and that they had delivered the Koh-i-noor to the Chairman and Deputy Chairman of the Hon'ble East India Company, and I have the honour to enclose a copy of the correspondence forwarded by those Officers.

2. With reference to the letter addressed by those officers to your Secretary, and to the circumstances therein detailed, I have to state that they have correctly described the measures taken by me regarding the gem, and that I entirely approve of the discretion they exercised on preparing to leave Bombay and during the voyage.

Simla.
The 15th August, 1850.

I have &c.
Sd. Dalhousie.

DOCUMENT 30

LIEUTENANT COL. MACKESON C.B.

AND

CAPTAIN J. RAMSAY.

The gem termed the Koh-i-noor has this day been received by the Chairman and Deputy Chairman for the Honourable Court of Directors from Lieutenant Colonel Mackeson C.B. and Captain Ramsay, Her Majesty's 22nd Foot, by whom it has been conveyed to England on the part of the Governor-General of India.

Sd/- J. Shepherd, Chairman

Sd/- J. W. Hogg, Deputy
Chairman.

Witness:—

Sd/- James C. Melvill.

Secretary.

East India House,

2nd July 1850.

DOCUMENT 31 (F.P.O.)**4, Albermarle Street,****3rd July 1850.***To,***J. MELVILL ESQUIRE,****SECRETARY TO THE HONOURABLE COURT OF DIRECTORS.***Sir*

On delivering over charge of the gem called the Koh-i-noor yesterday to the Honovrable the Chairman and Deputy Chairman in your presence, we omitted to mention the circumstances connected with our taking it out of the Treasury at Bombay, where it had lain deposited for two months before we embarked for England.

2. You are already aware that, in consequence of the non-arrival of the Medea at Bombay and of the uncertainty attending her arrival, Lord Dalhousie caused the gem to be deposited in the Treasury, as being a safer place than to leave it in our secret custody for an uncertain period on shore at Bombay. They manner in which the jewel was deposited was as follows; Sir Henry Elliot, Secretary to the Government of India, Mr. Courtenay, Private Secretary to the Governor-General, and ourselves being present, Lord Dalhousie placed the gem in the small iron safe, and this safe was deposited in a small despatch box. Both the boxes were locked and further secured by red tape, to the fastening of which his Lordship's seals were affixed, the impressions of the seals, as observed at the time, were imperfect ones, but we were hurried for time to reach the Treasury before it closed for the day, and it was not thought necessary to renew-them. The key of the inner iron safe was given to one of us (Coll. Mackeson) and the key of the outer red despatch box to the other (Captn Ramsay). We four then proceeded with the despatch box to Mr. Goldsmid, the Financial Secretary, who took us to the Treasury, and in the presence of all of us, Mr. Muspratt, the Treasurer, deposited the despatch box in a chest in the treasury.

The despatch box thus deposited remained under charge of Mr. Goldsmid and in the superdari to custody of the Treasurer at Bombay without their having been made aware of its contents for two months, during which time we were awaiting the arrival of H.M.'s Steamer 'Medea' from China. On the arrival of the Medea at Bombay, we represented to Mr. Goldsmid the sealed instructions of the Most Noble the Governor-General, with which we had been furnished, directing him to place in our charge 'the despatch Box which had been deposited in the Treasury.' Mr. Goldsmid accompanied us to the Treasury and taking Mrs. Muspratt with us we all went to the room in which the despatch box had been deposited. Mr. Muspratt in taking out the despatch box by the handle on its lid from the box in which it had been pressed down was obliged to apply some force to it. With the force applied by pulling at the lid, the lock gave way and the lid was separated from the under portion of the Box to such extent, as the tape secured by a seal, omitted.

This accident caused some alarm to Mr. Muspratt and Mr. Goldsmid, and we, taking into consideration that the impressions of the Seals were not from the first very distinct, that they were put in as much for our satisfaction when the box passed temporarily out of our charge as with any other object, feeling moreover confident that the Governor-General when he entrusted so valuable an article to our charge, invested us with full control over it, to be guided by circumstances as to the means we might take for its safe custody and disposal, determined in fairness to all parties after what had happened, to use our discretion in satisfying ourselves of the gem being present in the small safe and of its identity before we sailed from India. We therefore requested Mr. Goldsmid and Mr. Muspratt to withdraw and close the door on us while we satisfied ourselves that the locks of the boxes has not been tampered with, and the contents not withdrawn.

Having satisfied ourselves on these points, we gave to Mr. Goldsmid the receipt he required "for the despatch box that had been deposited in the Treasury" and embarked on board the "Medea". The despatch box being no longer trustworthy we supplied its place by a second heavy iron fire proof

safe, which we purchased at Bombay. We conveyed the gem on board in the despatch box and small iron safe and immediately transferred both of them to the larger safe, one of us (Capt. Ramsay) retaining the key of the larger safe, the other (Col. Mackeson) that of the smaller one. In this manner the gem was taken care of until we reached Spithead. When we left the ships at Spithead, in a small open boat there was a stiff breeze blowing, and with a view to greater security as well as to guard against scrutiny and detention at the Custom House, the gem was secured in a strong silk handkerchief and tied round the waist of one of us (Col. Mackeson) and was transferred again to the small iron proof safe when we reached the India House.

We trust the foregoing explanation will satisfactorily account for the gem not having been delivered over by us in the boxes secured by seals in which it had been made over to our charge, and that we may receive an assurance to this effect in time to admit of our informing the Governor-General of the same when reporting our having been relieved of our charge by the mail now about to leave for India.

The despatch box and the larger iron proof safe in which the gem was brought from Bombay are herewith forwarded, the smaller iron safe was delivered with the gem. A bill with voucher is submitted for the cost of the larger one, which we hope will be passed.

We have the honour to be,
Sir,

Your Obedt. Humble Servants,
Sd/- F. Mackeson Bt. Lt. Col.

14 Regt.

Sd/- J. Ramsay, Capt. 22nd Regt.
Mily. Secy. & A.D. C. to Gr. Genl.

3rd July.

—————

DOCUMENT 32 (F.P.O.)

**East India House,
6th July 1850.**

I am commanded to acknowledge the receipt of your letter dated the 3rd Instant explaining the course you pursued on taking the Diamond called the Koh-i-noor out of the Treasury at Bombay; and the measures you subsequently adopted for its safe custody and disposal; and to acquaint you that your explanation is entirely satisfactory.

I am &c.
Sd/- James C. Melvill.
Secretary.

DOCUMENT 33 (F.P.O.)

From,

**BREVET LT. COL. F. MACKESON C.B.
14TH REGIMENT NATIVE INFANTRY, AND
CAPTAIN J. RAMSAY, H.M.'S 22ND REGIMENT OF FOOT
MILITARY SECRETARY & A.D.C. TO THE GOVERNOR-
GENERAL.**

To,

**THE MOST NOBLE,
THE GOVERNOR-GENERAL OF INDIA.
DATED LONDON, JULY 6TH 1850.**

My Lord,

We have the honour to report for your Lordship's information, our arrival in England in H.M. Ship Medea on the 29th of June at plymouth, from which place we reported our arrival

to the Hon'ble the Chairman of the Court of Directors; forwarding at the same time your Lordship's letters, that to the address of the Hon'ble the Chairman of the Court of Directors and, that, to the address of the Right Hon'ble the Chairman of the President of the Board of Control; H.M. Ship Medea then proceeded, by order of the Admiral at Plymouth to Spithead, which place she reached on the morning of the 30th of June and on the evening of July 1st, Mr. Onslow (the Private Secretary to the Hon'ble the Chairman) arrived at Portsmouth with letters of instructions from the Secretary to the Court of Directors, of which we enclose copies, directing us to proceed at once to London to the India House with our charge; in accordance with these instructions we quitted H.M. Ship Medea with our charge, on the morning of the 2nd July at half past 6 O'clock A.M. and proceeded by railroad to London in Company with Mr. Onslow, and delivered the gem called the Koh-i-noor into the hands of the Hon'ble the Chairman and of the Deputy Chairman, of the Court of Directors in presence of Mr. Melvill the Secretary to the Hon'ble Court, and we have the honour herewith to enclose their receipt.

2. The day after having delivered our charge of the gem, it came to our knowledge that some discussion had taken place on the previous day in the Court, in consequence of the jewel not having been delivered over by us, in the identical boxes in which it had been confided to our charge viz. in a despatch box and fire proof box under your Lordship's seal but in a small fire proof box, locked, but unsecured by any seal.

We immediately addressed a letter to Mr. Melvill the Secretary to the Court of directors explaining fully the circumstances which obliged us to break your Lordship's seals and satisfy ourselves of the presence of the diamond in the fire proof box, when resuming charge of it from the Treasurer at Bombay; a copy of this letter is enclosed for your Lordship's information, and we have been verbally assured by the Secretary to the Court, on the part of the Chairman, that the explanation given is perfectly satisfactory, and that the circumstances of there being no Court to be held until the

10th Instant has alone prevented our receiving this assurance in writing. We from the first considered ourselves authorized to be guided by circumstances in the measures we might adopt for the safe custody of the Jewel and under this feeling we did not deem it necessary when reporting to your Lordship our having conveyed the jewel on board the Medea in safety, to enter into the detailed explanation which has since been called for by the question having been raised in the Court.

3. We shall have the honour of forwarding the duplicate of the Chairman's receipt by the next mail, together with the copy of the answer that we may receive to our letter to the Secretary to the Court of Directors.

We have &c.
 Sd/- F. Mackeson Bt. Lt. Col.
 14th Regiment N.I.
 Sd/- J. Ramsay, Captain.
 22nd Regiment.
 Military Secretary and A.D.C.
 to the Governor-General.

P.S. Since closing the above we have received the answer of the Secretary to the Court of Directors referred to in the last paragraph No. 3 of this letter, and have the honour herewith to annex a copy of it for your Lordship's information.

Sd/- F. Mackeson Bt. Lt. Col.
 14th Regiment N.I.
 Sd/- J. Ramsay Captain 22nd
 Regiment Military
 Secy. & A.D.C

DOCUMENT 34

The gem termed the Koh-i-noor has this day been received by the Chairman and Deputy Chairman for the Hon'ble Court of Directors, from Lt. Col. Mackeson C.B. and Captain Ramsay, Her Majesty's 22nd Foot, by whom it has been conveyed to England on the part of the Governor-General of India.

East India House,
London, 2nd July 1850.

Sd/- John Shepherd
Chairman.

Sd/- J.W. Hogg,
Deputy Chairman.

Witness,

Sd/- James C. Melvill.

DOCUMENT 35

Minute by the Most Noble the Governor-General of India dated the 15th August 1830.

Arrival in England of the Koh-i-noor

1. I have received this day a despatch from Lt. Col. Mackeson and Captain Ramsay reporting that Her Majesty's Ship Medea had safely arrived in England, and, that they had delivered the Koh-i-noor to the Chairman and Deputy Chairman of the Hon'ble East India Company.

They enclose a copy of correspondence and a Receipt granted by the Chairman and Deputy Chairman for the Koh-i-noor.

2. With reference to the letter addressed by those officers to the Secretary and to the circumstances therein detailed, I have to state that they have correctly described the measures taken by me regarding the gem and that I entirely approve of the discretion they exercised on preparing to leave Bombay and during the voyage.

Inform the Court accordingly by next mail.

Sd/- Dalhousie

DOCUMENT 36 (P.L.)

Mahassoo, July 13th, 1851

I see all sorts of sketches and pictures announced of the contents of the Exhibition. If you can get me anything representing well the Koh-i-noor in its cage, coloured, I shall be much obliged.

DOCUMENT 37 (P.L.)

SIMLA, August 18th, 1851

The Koh-i-noor is badly cut; its rose not brilliant cut, and of course won't sparkle like the latter. But it should not have been shown in a huge space. In the Tosha-khana at Lahore Dr. Login used to show it on a table covered with a black velvet cloth, the diamand alone appearing through a hole in the cloth, and relieved by the dark colour all round.

DOCUMENT 37-A (P.L.)**SIMLA, October 8th, 1851**

It describes my act in allotting the Lahore property to the Co. as a violation of the Queen's prerogative, and my mention of the Koh-i-noor as derogatory to H.M.'s dignity. It solicits a reconsideration of the question by H.M., and asks that they should be allowed to appear in support of H.M.'s rights "against the Indian Government"!

DOCUMENT 38**Governor-General of India.****29th December 1851.****Receipt for Koh-i-noor**

On 31st May 1850, I recorded a Minute, to which was annexed a Memorandum containing a duplicate receipt for the Koh-i-noor, which Doctor Login had in his charge, and explaining why the duplicate was supplied.

Doctor Login informed me yesterday that he had never received the duplicate receipt.

On enquiry today I find that from misapprehension the minute and receipt were recorded only and not transmitted to Doctor Login.

Send a certified copy of the Memorandum and of the duplicate receipt to Doctor Login now, explaining the delay.

Sd/- Dalhousie
29th December 1851.

DOCUMENT 39

From,

THE SECY. TO THE GOVERNMENT OF INDIA,
WITH THE GOVERNOR-GENERAL.

To,

DOCTOR J.S. LOGIN.

Sir,

Under instructions from the Most Noble the Governor-General I have the honour to transmit herewith a certified copy of a Memo; and of the duplicate receipt given you by His Lordship for the Koh-i-noor which had been in your charge at Lahore.

2. I am desired at the same time to explain that these documents should have been transmitted to you in May 1850 but from misapprehension of His Lordship's orders they were merely recorded in the office.

Camp; Gosaingunge,
The 30th December 1851.

I have &c.
Sd/- H.M. Elliot.

Secy. to Govt. of India with
the G.G.

DOCUMENT 40*From,*

DR. J.S. LOGIN,

*To*SIR H.M. ELLIOT K.C.B.
SECRETARY TO THE GOVERNMENT OF INDIA,
WITH THE GOVERNOR-GENERAL.*Sir,*

I have the honour to acknowledge your letter No. 4,018 of the 30th ultimo, forwarding a certified copy of a Memo: and of the duplicate receipt given me by the Most Noble the Governor-General, for the Koh-i-noor diamond, which had been in my charge at Lahore; and I have to request that you will oblige me by tendering my most respectful thanks to his Lordship for his considerate kindness, in favouring me with the above documents, to replace the Original receipt, which was stolen from me.

Futtyghur,
3rd January 1852.

I have &c.
Sd/- J.S. Login.

DOCUMENT 41

Lady Login's Reflection.
The Court of S.T. James.
(Pages 123-127)

The sittings took place at Buckingham Palace; the Queen and Prince Consort were much interested in the progress of the work, and frequently visited the room arranged as a studio. My husband or I usually accompanied the Maharajah.

On one of these occasions, when the painter was engaged on the details of the jewels that Duleep Singh was wearing Her

Majesty took the opportunity to speak to me aside on the subject of the Koh-i-noor, which had only recently been returned to her out of the hands of the Amsterdam diamond-cutters, and, of course; was greatly changed in size, shape and lustre. She had not yet worn it in public, and, as she herself remarked, had a delicacy about doing so in the Maharajah's presence.

"Tell me, Lady Login, does the Maharajah ever mention the Koh-i-noor? Does he seem to regret it, and would he like to see it again? Find out for me before the next sitting, and mind you let me know exactly what he says.

Little did Her Majesty guess the perturbation into which her command threw a loyal subject! How thankful I was that the second query followed close on, and covered up the first, which would have been most embarrassing to answer truthfully, as there was no other subject that so filled the thoughts and conversation of the Maharajah, his relatives and dependants. For the confiscation of the jewel which to the Oriental is the symbol of the sovereignty of India, rankled in his mind even more than the loss of his kingdom, and I dreaded what sentiments he might give vent to were the subject now re-opened.

The time passed, and no good opportunity arose of sounding him on the matter, till the very day before the next sitting was due, when, as we were riding together in Richmond Park in desparation, I ventured to turn the conversation round to the altered appearance that the cutting was said to have given to the famous "mountain of light", and remarked, as casually as I could, "would he have any curiosity to see it now in its new form?" "Yes, indeed I would," he affirmed emphatically: "I would give a good deal to hold it again in my own hand." This reply, knowing how keen were his feelings on the matter, startled me considerably, and it was in much trepidation that I asked the reason for this great desire on his part? why? was his answer. "Why, because I was but a child, an infant, when forced to surrender it by treaty; but now that I am a man, I should like to have it in my power to place it myself in her hand."

I cannot tell you my delight and relief at his answer, and, lest he should add anything that might qualify or spoil such a charming and chivalrous sentiment, I hurriedly turned the conversation, and with a light heart awaited the morrow's interview with Her Majesty.

She came across to me at once on entering the room, the Maharajah being on the platform, posing for the artist, asking eagerly if I had executed her commands? and right glad I was to be able to give his answer. The Queen seemed as pleased as I had been at Duleep Singh's response to my question, and, signalling to the Prince Consort, who was engaged in conversation with the painter at the other end of the room, they held a hurried consultation in whispers, despatching one of the gentlemen-in-waiting with a message. For about half-an-hour they both remained, watching the progress of the portrait and conversing with those present, when a slight bustle near the door made me look in that direction, and behold, to my amazement, the gorgeous uniforms of a group of beef-eaters from the Tower, escorting an official bearing a small casket, which he presented to Her Majesty. This she opened hastily, and took therefrom a small object which, still holding, she showed to the Prince, and, both advancing together to the dais, the Queen cried out, 'Maharajah, I have something to show you.' Turning hastily for, in the position he was in, his back was towards the actors in this little scene—Duleep Singh stepped hurriedly down to the floor, and, before he knew what was happening, found himself once more with the Koh-i-noor in his grasp, while the Queen was asking him "if he thought it improved, and if he would have recognised it again?"

Truth to tell, at first sight, no one who had known it before would have done so, diminished to half its size, and thereby, in Oriental eyes, reft of much of its association and symbolism. That this was what he felt I am inwardly convinced; yet, as he walked with it towards the window, to examine it more closely, turning it hither and thither, to let the light upon its facets, and descanting upon its peculiarties and differences, and the skill of the diamond-cutter, for all his air of polite interest and curiosity, there was a passion of repressed emo-

tion in his face, patent to one who knew him well, and evident, I think, to Her Majesty, who watched him with sympathy not unmixed with anxiety that I may truly say, it was to me one of the most excruciatingly uncomfortable quarters of-an-hour that I ever passed. For an awful terror seized me, lest I had unwittingly deceived Her Majesty as to his intentions seeing him stand there turning and turning that stone about in his hands, as if unable to part with it again, now he had it once more in his possession.

At last, as if summoning up his resolution after a profound struggle, and with a deep sigh, he raised his eyes from the jewel, and just as the tension on my side was near breaking-point, so that I was prepared for almost anything even to seeing him, in a sudden fit of madness, fling the precious talisman out of the open window by which he stood: and the other spectators nerves were equally on edge he moved deliberately to where Her Majesty was standing, and, with a deferential reverence, placed in her hand the famous diamond, with the words; "It is to me, Ma'am, the greatest pleasure thus to have the opportunity, as a loyal subject, of myself tendering to my Sovereign the Koh-i-noor." Whereupon he quietly resumed his place on the dais, and the artist continued his work.

Of all those present on that memorable occasion, I believe that I am the sole survivor, for the late Lady Ely, the Lady-in-Waiting, was the only other lady there, and both Sir Charles-Phipps and the equerry are dead. The officer and escort from the Tower had already left the room.

DOCUMENT 42 (P.L).

**Government House
August 26th, 1854.**

L—'s talk to you about the Koh-i-noor being a present from Duleep to the Queen is arrant humbug. He knew as well as I did, that it was nothing of the sort; and if I had been within a thousand miles of him he would not have dared to utter such a piece of trickery. Those beautiful eyes,' with which Duleep has taken captive the court, are his mother's eyes, those with which she captivated and controlled the old Lion of the Punjab. The officer who had charge of her from Lahore to Benares told me this. He said that hers were splendid orbs.

DOCUMENT 43 (P.L).

Malta, January 7th, 1858.

The rumour you mention as to the Koh-i-noor I have seen in former years in an English paper, but never anywhere else. It is not only contrary to fact but contrary to native statements also. Did the Koh-i-noor bring ill luck to the great Akbar, who got it from Golconda, or to his son or grandson? or to Aurungzeb, who rose to be the Great Mogul? And when that race of Emperors fell (not from the ill-fortune of the Koh-i-noor, but from their feeble hand), did it bring ill-fortune to Nadir Shah, who lived and died the greatest Eastern conqueror of modern times? or to Ahmed Shah Doorani, who got it at Nadir's death, and founded the Afghan Empire? or did it bring ill-fortune to old Runjeet Singh, who got it from the Dooranis, and who rose from being a petty chief at Goojeranwalla to be the Maharajah of the Punjab, swaying the greatest force in India next to ourselves? And has it brought ill-luck to the Queen? Especially representing the Punjab, has it shown that state an enemy to us? Has it not on the contrary, shown it our fastest friend, by whose aid we have

just put down the traitors of our own household ? So much for the facts of history as to the Koh-i-noor. Now for the estimation in which its former owners held it. When Runjeet Singh seized it from Shah Shoojah (the Doornai Emperor) he was very anxious to ascertain its real value. He sent to the merchants at Umritsir, but they said its value could not be estimated in money. He then sent to the Begum, Shah Shoojah's wife. Her answer was thus: "If a strong man should take five stones, and should cast them, one east, one west, one north, and one south, and the last straight up in the air, and if all the space between those points were filled with gold and gems, that would not equal the value of the Koh-i-noor." Runjeet (thinking this rather a vague estimate, I suppose) then applied to Shah Shoojah. The old man's answer was: "The value of the Koh-i-noor is that whoever holds it is victorious over all his enemies. "And so it is. The Koh-i-noor has been of ill-fortune to the few who have lost it. To the long line of emperors, conquerors, and potentates who through successive centuries have possessed it, it has been the symbol of victory and empire. And surely never more so than to our Queen, ever since she wore it, and at this moment. The anecdote I have given was told me by Fuqueer Noorooddeen at Lahore, who was himself the messenger who went to the Begum and Shah Shoojah. It was all fully narrated to the Government when the Koh-i-noor was sent home. However, if H.M. thinks it brings bad luck, let her give it back to me. I will take it and its ill-luck on speculation.

CHAPTER TWO
Foreign Consultation

DOCUMENT 44

**Subject :—Traditional and Historical Account of
the Kohi-noor by Sir T. Metcalfe, Delhi.**

From,

SIR THEOPHILUS METCALFE, BART,
AGENT LT. GOVERNOR N.W. PROVS.
DELHI.

To,

SIR HENRY ELLIOT, K.C.B.,
SECRETARY TO THE GOVERNMENT OF INDIA,
WITH THE GOVERNOR-GENERAL,
HEAD QUARTERS.

DATED DELHI, THE 7TH JANUARY, 1850.

Sir,

In obedience to the instructions conveyed in your Despatch No. 2599 under date the 13th December last, I have the honour to submit for the information of the most noble the Governor-General the following account relative to the Koh-i-noor, and though I cannot but regret that it is so very meagre and imperfect, I can yet assure you that no pains have been spared to obtain more satisfactory and authentic particulars.

2. I have divided the account into two heads Traditional and Historical.

First—according to the tradition of the oldest Jewellers in the City of Delhi, as handed down from family to family.

This Diamond Koh-i-noor, was extracted from the mine four days journey from Muchlee-bunder (Masulipatam) to the

North West, on the banks of the Godavari, during the lifetime of Krishna, who is supposed to have lived 5,000 years since. It was found by a Zumeendar, and became the property of Rajah Kuns. Its weight being 319 Ruthies or 1 Ounce and 8 Penny weights. Subsequently it fell into the hands of Beer Bikramajeet of the Panwar tribe, Rajah of Oojain in the Malwa Territory, who became master of the whole of Hindoostan. When the Mohamedans invaded Hindoostan and conquered Oojain this Jewel fell into the hands of the Emperors of the Ghoree dynasty, and from then successively of the Toghluq, the Syud, and the Lodi dynasties, and eventually descended to the family of Timoor, and remained in their possession until the reign of the Mohummud Shah, who wore it in his Turban. On Nadir Shah's visit to Delhi the Emperor and he exchanged Turbans, and thus it became the property of the latter. While others again affirm that Mohummud Shah gave the Diamond to effect his restoration to power as Emperor of Hindoostan. On the murder of Nadir Shah by his own tribe, Ahmed Shah Dooranee became possessed of the Kingdom of Khoorasan and of the Koh-i-noor, and at his death it descended successfully to his sons Timoor, Shah-Zuman, Shah and Shah Shooja-ool-Moolk and from the latter was forcibly taken by Ranjeet Singh.

The second account extracted from the "Ukber-Nameh", or History of the reign of the Great Ukber is as follows :

That when Hoomayoon Badshah arrived at Agra this Diamond on being cut, was found to weight 8 Miskals or 1 Ounce $2\frac{1}{4}$ Penny weights that the Jeweller of that period valued it at half the amount of the sum daily expended in the whole land and it is said that it was first in the Jewel office of the Ghoreya family, who had received it from the descendants of the Rajah Beer Bikramjeet of Gwalior. Hoomayoon presented it to his father. Babur Shah to please him accepted the gift but afterwards returned to him. It is also stated in the "Ukber-Nameh" that when Hoomayoon Badshah was seriously ill his father Babur Shah consulted some physicians regarding his case-Meer Abool Bukker, a learned man, represented that he had ascertained from former Sages that when the Physicians despaired of the recovery of any patient the most valuable thing in

the possession of the invalid should be given in charity and a blessing solicited from the Almighty. The Emperor Babur observed that in his opinion he himself was the most precious, and that he would consecrate himself. The standersby however intimated that by God's mercy the Prince would recover and that the meaning of the sages was that the most valuable article of property should be offered up, and consequently, that the Emperor Babur Shah should offer the Diamond which had been taken in the wars with Sooltan Ibraheem. Babur Shah replied that no treasure on Earth could be put in comparison with his beloved son, and that he would offer himself as a Sacrifice to obtain his recovery. Hoomayoon recovered, and the Jewel remained with the descendants of Timoor until the reign of Mohummud Shah.

Delhiee Agency,
The 7th Jany., 1850.

I have the honour to be &c.
Sd/- T. Metcalfe.
Agent Lt. Governor, North
Western Provinces.

DOCUMENT 45

From

P. MELVILL ESQUIRE,
SECRETARY TO THE BOARD OF ADMINISTRATION.

To,

SIR H.M. ELLIOT, K.C.B.
SECRETARY TO THE GOVERNMENT OF INDIA
WITH THE GOVERNOR-GENERAL.

DATED LAHORE 3RD MAY 1850.

Sir,

With reference to your letter No. 2508, dated 23rd December last, I have the honour, by direction of the Board of Administration, to forward to you, for submission to the Most Noble the Governor-General, the accompanying copies of

letters from Major Macgregor C.B., Deputy Commissioner of Lahore, and Mr. G. Campbell, Deputy Commissioner of Loodiana giving such particulars as they have been able to obtain relative to the Koh-i-noor, together with a copy of my reply to Major Macgregor of this date.

2. I am desired to add that Doctor Login was applied to, agreeably to the instructions contained in your letter. But as he had left Lahore he was without the means of obtaining information on the subject.

I have the honour to be,
Sir,

Your most obedit. servant,
Sd/- P. Melvill.
Secretary to the Board of
Administration.

Lahore.

3rd May 1850.

Dear Courteney,

This minute with papers regarding Koh-i-noor must go by this mail. Send it to F.O. In doing so, be so good as to verify the quotation from Court's despatch which I have marked in pencil on the first page. Correct the quotation if wrong and insert date. Send message to return messengers Sir T. Metcalfe's report on K-i-N. from Delhi. In the meantime find Bd. of Admn., tell F.O. to send copy of Mr. Campbell's letter of 9th Feby. and Extract of Major Mc-Gregor, down to this place. I have marked in pencil. On the rest after the value and history of diamonds anybody can get in books. I want only original history on this occasion.

Yours
J.L.

Monday, 1 File.

DOCUMENT 46

From,

MAC-GREGOR
MAJOR MACGREGOR C.B.
DEPUTY COMMISSIONER, LAHORE.

To,

B. MELVILL ESQUIRE,
SECRETARY TO THE BOARD OF ADMINISTRATION FOR THE
AFFAIRS OF THE PUNJAB.
LAHORE APRIL 20, 1850.

Sir,

With reference to your letter No. 1448 dated the 21st of December last, I have the honour to submit for the information of the Board of Administration, the following particulars regarding the Koh-i-noor diamond, since it passed from the possession of Shah Shooja-ool-Moolk, the Ex-King of Cabul, into the hands of Maharaja Runjeet Singh.

An interval of nearly 37 years has elapsed since the Shah surrendered this diamond to the Maharaja, and there are but few persons now alive who attended His Highness on that occasion, one of whom however, I have succeeded in discovering now at Lahore, viz., Bhaie Mahoo Singh, who was then only ten years of age, but he says that he retains a distinct recollection of what took place, and he is a person much respected by the Native Community of Lahore, and I think his statement may in every respect be fully relied upon.

He relates that the Shah was then residing in a House in the City, belonging to Sirdar Srivall Singh Lala, situated near the Lahore Gate. Wufz Begum, the Shah's favourite wife, and other members of his family were located in the "Moobaruk Havalee" near the Delhi Gate. Guards were stationed round the Shah's residence, and he was not allowed to communicate with the Members of his family.

Bhai Goormookh Singh, and Sirdar Hookum Singh Attaree Wallah, had been frequently sent by the Maharaja to the exiled Prince to demand the Koh-i-noor diamond from him, and it was only after the Shah had become fully sensible to the

determination of Runjeet Singh to resort to measures of the utmost severity to extort the desired Jewel from him that the Shah yielded compliance to the demand, and agreed to give it up to the Maharaja if he would wait upon him in person to receive it.

This Runjeet Singh readily consented to do, and early in the month of June 1813, about noon, he left his Palace in the Citadel and proceeded to the Shah's residence, taking, with him Sirdars Hookum Singh Attareewallah, Jemidar Koshal Singh, Bhaie Goormookh Singh, Fuqueer Azeezodeen, Bahie Mahoo Singh, and two hundred followers.

The exiled Prince received the Maharaja in an apartment in the upper storey of the House, and both being seated, a short interval elapsed when the Shah took the Diamond from underneath the cushion on which he was seated, and delivered it to the Maharaja, who attentively examined it, made no remark, gave it in charge to Sirdar Hookum Singh Attareewallah, and forthwith retired.

The guards were immediately withdrawn from the Shah's residence and he was allowed to communicate freely with his family.

The Maharaja held a Durbar on his return to the Palace, and the Koh-i-noor Diamond was exhibited to the Chiefs and people assembled there, and repeated congratulations were offered to His Highness on the attainment of this valuable jewel. The Diamond was then made over to the charge of Misr Wustee Ram, Runjeet Singh's Treasurer, who had been in the service of the Maharaja's father and grandfather, and in whom Runjeet Singh reposed the greatest confidence.

About two days afterwards the Maharaja having fully satisfied himself that the Diamond which he had obtained from the Shah was the genuine 'Koh-i-noor*' sent the Shah a lakh and twenty five Thousand Rupees as a donation, and Dewan Mohkum Chund was desired by the Maharaja to leave this money conveyed to him.

* Koh-i-noor signifies in English the mountain of light, a Name given to it by Nadir Shah, King of Persia, it is stated, but on what authority I cannot trace.

The Maharaja then went to Amritsar, and Raja Tej Singh who accompanied him on that occasion, has obligingly furnished me with the following particulars.

Runjeet Singh has no sooner arrived at Amritsar, than he sent for the principal Jewellers of that City to ascertain from them their opinion of the value of the Koh-i-noor which having carefully examined, they replied that the value of a Diamond of such great size and beauty was far beyond all computation. The Maharaja desired them to set the diamond in a handsome and suitable manner, and this work was executed in His Highness presence, for he would not allow them to take the precious jewel out of his sight.

The setting being completed, Runjeet Singh fixed the Koh-i-noor in the front of his Turban, mounted his Elephant, and accompanied by Sirdars and attendants, paraded several times up and down the principal streets of the City, in order that his subjects might see the Koh-i-noor in his possession.

He returned to his palace in the Bhungeean Fort, situated in the City of Amritsar, and having partaken freely of his favourite and potent beverage as he was wont to do, on occasions of great rejoicing, and feeling that his senses were fast yielding to its intoxicating effects, he evinced considerable anxiety for the safety of the Koh-i-noor; for on a former occasion, when he had been indulging freely in like manner, a valuable jewel had been stolen from him.

He sent for Tej Singh and fastening the Diamond round his waist desired him to repair with it at once to the Fort of Govindghur and deliver it to Misr Wustee Ram, the Maharaja's Treasurer. Tej Singh was quickly mounted on Runjeet Singh's own elephant, and attended by guards of Infantry and Cavalry, started on this important mission, and soon returned with the Misr's receipt for the Diamond, seeing which the Maharaja again felt easy in his mind, and renewed the potation which had been somewhat suddenly interrupted.

The Koh-i-noor was produced and worn by Runjeet Singh as an armlet on the Deep Mala, the Dusserah, and other great

festivals, and it was always exhibited to visitors of distinction, especially to British Officers who visited his Court. Runjeet Singh took the Koh-i-noor with him wherever he travelled, to Mooltan, Peshawar and other places.

Fuqueer Noor-oo-deen told me the other day, when I was talking to him about the Koh-i-noor, that a few months after the Maharaja obtained possession of it, he sent for him, and said that with all his endeavours he had failed to ascertain its value, and desired him to go to Wufa Begum, and to ascertain the value of it, from her if possible. The Begum's reply was rather an amusing one, viz. that if a strong man were to throw four stones, one to each of the Cardinal points, North, South, East and West, and a fifth stone vertically, and if the interspace were to be filled with Gold and precious stones, they would not equal in value the Koh-i-noor.

Shah Shooja, her Husband, when asked the same question, is said to have replied "Good Luck" for he who has possessed it, has obtained it by over—powering his enemies.

When Runjeet Singh was dying, and had lost all power of speech, Kour Khurruk Singh, his son, Dhain Singh, Prime Minister, Khoshal Singh, Chief Officer in the Army, Baie Govind Ram, and Mukssodeen Chief Pundit, had assembled around the Cot on which he was lying. Govind Ram addressing him said, "Maharaj" (Great King) you have often expressed to us your instructions to send the Koh-i-noor to the temple of Juggurnath, as an offering to Krishna (the God). Is it your wish that it should be thus disposed of, upon which the Maharaja it is said inclined his head and made a sign by which he indicated his approval, and accordingly the assembled chiefs sent for Misr Baylee Ram, who had succeeded to the charge of the Treasury and also of the Koh-i-noor and desired him to produce the Diamond, at once, for the purpose of its being sent to Juggurnath. The Misr hesitated, and replied, that it was not in his power, to do so, for it being the property of the State, Kour Noo Nehal Singh (the Grand son of Runjeet Singh then at Peshawar) would hold him responsible for its safety. The

Chiefs remonstrated, but in vain, for the Misr was firm, Runjeet Singh, shortly afterwards died, and thus the jewel was preserved to the State.

Khurruck Singh sometimes wore it during his short reign; Sher Singh being fond of display, frequently did so.

Shortly after Sher Singh was murdered, poor Misr Baylee Ram, shared the same fate as his Master, and Ranee Chundah's intrigues, having seated her son the youthful Dhuleep, on the throne of Runjeet Singh, and raised herself to power, she appointed her paramour, Lal Singh, to the charge of the Tosha Khana, which contained the Koh-i-noor and other state jewels, and when Lal Singh had been deposed and ordered out of the Punjab, the Durbar immediately placed a Guard over the Tosha Khana, and appointed Misr Meg Raj to the charge of it, which office he holds at present.

After the annexation of the Punjab the British Civil authorities at Lahore took possession of the Koh-i-noor, and of several of the most valuable of the State jewels, and deposited them in the Motee Mondur Treasury, where, with the exception of the Koh-i-noor, they remain at present.

Tavernier states that the Koh-i-noor weighs 319 Ratis and a half, which make 279 and $\frac{9}{16}$ ths of our Carats, when it was rough it weighed 907 Ratis which make 793 Carats: it lost therefore 628 Carats in cutting. The sketch of it in Taverniers work is a very correct one. The Koh-i-noor Diamond is stated to be worth 380,000 Guineas, though there is a small flaw near the bottom of it. Tavernier who fully examined the Koh-i-noor valued the Carat at 50 French livres.

Misr Baylee Ram weighed the Koh-i-noor by order of Runjeet Singh, and it weighed 39 mashas which make 312 Ratis; most probably it was then unset, which would account for the difference of ratis between the weights given by Tavernier and Misr Baylee Ram. A Carat is $3\frac{1}{4}$ th Grains i.e. the Diamond, Carat. A Rati $\frac{1}{8}$ less than 2 grains or $1\frac{7}{8}$ Troy.

For valuation of Diamonds, Mr. Jefferies lays down the following rule; He first supposes the value of a rough Diamond to be settled at 2 £ per carat, at a medium; then to find the value of Diamonds of greater weight, Multiply the square of their weight by 2, and the product is the value required. Therefore, to find the value of a rough Diamond of 2 Carats, $2 \times 2 = 4$ the square of weight multiplied by 2 gives 8 £ the value of a rough Diamond of 2 Carats.

For finding the value of manufactured Diamonds he supposes half the weight to be lost in manufacturing them, and therefore to find the value we must multiply the square of double their weight by 2, which will give the true value.

According to this rule the Koh-i-noor is worth in ponds 622,728£, Thus to find the value of a wrought Diamond weighing two Carats, we first find the square of double the weight viz. $4 \times 4 = 16$ then $16 \times 2 = 32$, is that the true value of a wrought diamond of 2 carats is 32£. On these principles; Mr. Jefferies has constructed tables of Diamonds from 1 to 100 Carats.

The following particulars, relative to some of the largest Diamonds in the world may not perhaps at this time, prove unacceptable to the Board although, they are not immediately connected with the subject of this report.

The largest Diamond ever known in the world is one belonging to the King of Portugal, and was found in Brazil. It is still uncut, and was of a larger size originally, but a piece was broken out of it by an ignorant countryman, who chanced to find this great gem, and tried its hardness by the stroke of a large hammer upon the Anvil. This prodigious Diamond weighs 1680 Carats, and though uncut, Mr. Rome de L'Isle says that it is valued at 224 Millions sterling, which gives the estimation of 76.36 or about 80£ sterling for each Carat viz., for the multiplicand of the square of its whole weight.

The famous Diamond in the sceptre of the King of Russia weighs 779 Carats, and its worth is at least 4,854,72,8 pounds sterling although it cost only 135,417 guineas. This

Diamond was originally one of the eyes of a Malabrian idol, named Scheringham, and a French grenadier who had deserted from the Indian service, contrived to become one of the Priests of that idol, and by that means to steal it, after passing through several hands, the late Prince Arloff purchased it at Amsterdam, in 1766 for his sovereign the emperor of Russia.

In "Phillip's Facts" it is mentioned that another Diamond belonging to the Royal family of Portugal weighs 215 Carats, is extremely fine, and is worth at least 369,000 Guineas.

The Pitt Diamond weighs $186\frac{1}{2}$ Carats, and is worth 208,333 Guineas, although it did not cost above half that sum.

The Austrain Diamond weighs $139\frac{1}{2}$ carats, and was bought on a Common Stall, as piece of rock crystal.

I beg in conclusion to express my regret at the delay which has taken place in my submitting this report to the Board, but strange to say, I have found it very difficult, even at Lahore to obtain authentic information regarding the history of the Koh-i-noor Diamond, and the multiplicity of my duties as a District Officer, left me little leisure for making such researches.

Lahore,
April 20, 1850.

I have &c.
Sd/- G.H. Macgregor,
Deputy Commissioner.

DOCUMENT 47

From,

G. CAMPBELL ESQUIRE,
DEPUTY COMMISSIONER,

To,

THE SECRETARY TO THE BOARD OF
ADMINISTRATION FOR THE AFFAIRS OF THE PUNJAB.
DATED CAMP, 7TH FEBRUARY 1850.

Sir,

In reply to your letter No. 1449 of 21st December on the subject of the history of the Koh-i-noor, I have the honour to subjoin such information, as I have been able to obtain.

It does not clearly appear, from whom the Delhi Emperors got the Koh-i-noor, but its history, from the time that it passed out of their hands, is, according to the Shah-zadahs, as follows.

Mahomed Shah, Emperor of Delhi, used to wear it in his Turban, Nadir Shah insisted on giving a mark of his affection by changing turbans with the Emperor, and with the Turban changed the Koh-i-noor, after the death of Nadir, his son Shah-Rookshah presented it, as a Nuzzur to Ahmedshah Dooranee, from Ahmedshah, it descended to his son Timoor Shah and from the latter to Shah Zeman.

When Shah Zeman was worsted by Mehmood Shah, he took refuge in a place called Fort Ashac. The owner Ashac made him a prisoner, but he hid the Koh-i-noor with 12 other diamonds in a hole in the wall. Subsequently on Shah Shoojah's coming into power Shah Zeman (now blinded) pointed out the Jewels. Shah Shoojah took possession, and flew Ashac away from a Gun. On Shah Shoojah being compelled to fly by the Barakzyes, he was made a prisoner in Cashmere, and his family took refuge in Lahore, with the Koh-i-noor, Runjeet Singh begged of Shah Shoojahs wife, Wafa Begum, to give up the Koh-i-noor, Wafa Begum said that Runjeet must come:

himself, and when he came abused him well, and holding a hammer in her hand, declared, that if he attempted to take it by force, she would break it on the spot, but added, that it was entrusted to her by Shah Shoojah, and if he liberated the Shah, the latter might give it if he chose. Runjeet Singh sent Dewan Mokum Chund, who conquered Cashmere, and brought away Shah Shoojah.

Runjeet Singh asked Shah Shooja to name the price of the Koh-i-noor Shah Shooja replied, that its price was the sword, and gave it up.

I have &c.

Sd/- G. Campbell, Dy. Commissioner.

DOCUMENT 48

From,

P. MELVILL ESQUIRE,
SECRETARY TO THE BOARD OF ADMINISTRATION.

To,

MAJOR G. H. MACGREGOR C.B.
DEPUTY COMMISSIONER, LAHORE.
DATED LAHORE 3RD MAY, 1850.

Sir,

I am directed by the Board of Administration to acknowledge the receipt of your letter No. 174 dated the 20th Ultimo.

2. The Board are much obliged to you for the trouble you have taken to obtain authentic particulars relative to the

Koh-i-noor" and for the very interesting account you have thus been able to give of this celebrated gem.

3. Your letter will be forwarded immediately to the Government of India, under whose instructions you were called upon to prepare the narrative.

Lahore.
3rd May 1850.

I have &c.
Sd/- P. Melvill.
Secretary to the Board of
Administration.

PART—B

DOCUMENT 1

1912—Foreign Department General Progs—February 1912 No. 117-118 Particulars supplied to Her Majesty the Queen-Empress Regarding the Disposal of the Darya-i-Noor and other jewels taken over from the Lahore Darbar at the annexation of the Punjab in 1849.

Dated Bikaner, the 23rd December 1911

From:—

LIEUTENANT-COLONEL SIR J.R. DUNLOP-SMITH, K.C.S.I.,
C.I.E., POLITICAL AIDE-DE-CAMP TO THE SECRETARY OF
STATE,

To:—

J.R. WOOD, ESQ., C.I.E., ADDITIONAL SECRETARY TO THE
GOVERNMENT OF INDIA IN THE FOREIGN DEPARTMENT.

Some time last summer I wrote by direction of the Queen's Private Secretary to the Foreign Department asking for any papers they might have, relating to the disposal of the jewels, etc., taken over from the Lahore Darbar at the annexation of the Punjab in 1849. I was told in reply that there were no such papers in existence. It seemed hard to believe but I had to rest content with that answer for the time. I knew there was a file in the Punjab Secretariat about them and got it while we were at Delhi. I have now been all through this file and find that the Board of Administration had a long correspondence with the Foreign Department of the Government of India about these State jewels. The following letters were received from the Foreign Department:—

1. Foreign Department No. 781, dated the 23rd May 1849.
2. " " " 1468, 20th August 1849.
3. Board of Administration's No. 118, dated the 10th May 1849 (with enclosure).
4. Foreign Department No. 1800, dated 7th September 1850.

The Queen is very anxious to have the history of the Lahore State jewels now in Her Imperial Majesty's possession cleared up before we leave India. Could you kindly have another search made with the assistance of the data I have given you above and let me have the papers as soon as I arrive at Calcutta on the 29th instant? It is impossible to believe that all these records were destroyed. I am so sorry to worry you when you would be grappling with arrears but the matter is really very urgent.

The papers below have been traced after great difficulty. Our indexes do not help, and there are no countermarks on the collections showing the earlier and later papers.

Sir J.R. Dunlop-Smith may see the papers so far got out, and if any further information should be required another search will be made.

J.R. L.,-29-12-1911.

DOCUMENT 2

**Foreign Proceedings Consultation,
20th September 1850, No. 13.**

The only correspondence which I have seen and which has been through General Branch is that recorded in the collection below. It will be seen that we were asked about jewels in general which had been presented by India to the Crown and some pearls in particular which were presumed to have come from Oudh. The papers now traced may be seen by Sir James Dunlop Smith. It will be seen from Lord Dalhousie's 'Minute' dated the 28th September 1850, that he sent the Koh-i-noor to England for presentation to Her Majesty Queen Victoria and set aside some more jewellery, including a great necklace of pearls for despatch to England for the inspection

and orders of the Court of Directors. These may be the pearls referred to in Major Clive Wigram's letter of the 26th November 1910.

S.B. Patterson, -29-12-1911.

Sir J. Dunlop-Smith, King Emperor's Camp.

I send these on. I've not examined them.

J.B. Wood, -29-12-1911.

Many thanks, but I am afraid these papers do not carry us much further. What Her Imperial Majesty wants is the letter from the Board or Court of Directors acknowledging the receipt of the jewels sent to Bombay from the Punjab and reporting what was done with them on arrival in England. Could the Foreign Department kindly procure these for me?

J.R. Dunlop-Smith, 3-1-1912.

DOCUMENT 3

Political Consultations dated the 20th September 1850 No. 13.

The following papers show clearly what was done with the State jewels from the Punjab. In his minute, dated the 2nd September 1850, Lord Dalhousie intimated that he had made a selection of jewels which he intended to send to England for the Great Exhibition of 1851. as the finest specimens available of Native jewellery. These jewels were packed in three cases and were actually despatched to England by the Bombay Government on the 17th December 1850.

Political Consultations, dated the
7th February 1851, No. 16.

Political Consultations, dated the
8th November 1850, No. 57

Political Consultations, dated the
30th January 1852.

A concise list of these jewels, giving full particulars, is contained in the letter of the Deputy Commissioner Lahore, No. 296, dated the 10th October 1850. With their despatch No. 34-Public, dated the 3rd December 1851, the Honourable the Court of Directors advised the despatch of a box containing some of the jewels which had been sent to them for the great Exhibition, with a view to their sale in India where a suitable market for them could more readily be found. A list of the contents of this box was attached, and it will be seen from this list that everything which was sent to England was returned, with the exception of one pearl necklace, probably the one consisting of 224 pearls, referred to in Lord Dalhousie's minute as the "great necklace of pearls," and a short necklace of four very large spinel rubies. What was done with these necklaces in England, the records of the Government of India do not show, but from the reference given to the despatch of the Court of Directors No. 34 of 1851, it ought not to be difficult to trace some information in the India Office on the subject. A despatch from the Court of Directors on the subject is No. 3, dated the 7th January 1852, issued from the Public Department. It appears that some papers regarding the Lahore jewels were also dealt with the Financial Department of the India Office.

Political Consultation, dated the 27th February 1852, Nos. 1-3.

Paragraph 62 of the despatch from the Court of Directors No. 32-Pol., dated the 10th September 1851.

Sir James Dunlop-Smith may see the above note.

J.H.G.,-4-1-1912.

C.O.H. T.,-4-1-1912.

S.B. Patterson,-4-1-1912.

I have submitted the information given in the papers below to the Queen-Empress and have it on command to convey Her Imperial Majesty's grateful acknowledgment of the trouble taken by the Foreign Department to trace the history of these jewels but the Queen-Empress would like to know how the

jewels which were returned to India and especially the Darya-i-Noor were disposed of. Could the Department kindly ascertain the facts?

J.R. Dunlop-Smith,-4-1-1912.

DOCUMENT 4

Dated the 7th January 1912 (Confidential)

From—

J.B. WOOD, ESQ., C.I.E., ADDITIONAL SECRETARY TO THE GOVERNMENT OF INDIA IN THE FOREIGN DEPARTMENT.

To—

LIEUTENANT-COLONEL SIR J.R. DUNLOP-SMITH, K.C.S.I. C.I.E., POLITICAL AIDE-DE-CAMP TO THE SECRETARY OF STATE.

We are in the track of the Darya-i-Noor and the other jewels returned to India in 1852.

Meanwhile please see the papers sent herewith. The Darya-i-Noor has it appears, again been to England for sale in connection with the Nawab of Dacca's debts and is at this moment on its way out again to Messrs. Hamilton who have been commissioner to sell it.

Revenue and Agriculture Department Proceedings Confidential Land Revenue, July A, 1911, Nos. 61-62.

You will notice that English experts have found it to be of inferior quality not worth more than 1,500£.

I will let you know to-morrow if anything fresh turns up. It is just possible that the Darya-i-Noor may have arrived back in Calcutta and be available for Her Majesty to inspect it.

The jewel known as the Darya-i-noor is at present in the possession of Messrs. Hamilton & Co., Jewellers, Old Court House Street, who are ready to wait upon Her Imperial Majesty with the jewel, if Her Imperial Majesty should desire

to see it. Messrs Hamilton & Co., believe it to be the original Darya-i-Noor and without any hint from me, volunteered the information that it is the very gem which was exhibited in London in 1851. I have seen the gem and think it coincides exactly with the description of it given in our papers of 1850 and 1852. Mr. W. Smith, Managing Partner of Messrs. Hamilton & Co., can be communicated with by letter on the premises. He asked that if her Imperial Majesty did not desire to see the jewel, he might be informed to-night, so as to enable him to take his holiday tomorrow. If, however, no orders are received to-night, he will be present on the premises all day tomorrow awaiting Her Imperial Majesty's pleasure. He says that the quickest way to let him know is by letter sent by hand, as the telephone being in the office and he upstairs, he would not hear it.

J.H.G.,-6-1-1912.

C.O,H.T.,-6-1-1912.

I have suggested to Sir J. Dunlop-Smith that he should communicate with Mr. Smith direct, to save time.

J.B. Wood,-6-1-1912.

DOCUMENT 5

Dated Calcutta, the 6th January 1912.

From—

J.B. WOOD, ESQ., C.I.E., ADDITIONAL SECRETARY TO THE GOVERNMENT OF INDIA IN THE FOREIGN DEPARTMENT.

To—

LIEUTENANT-COLONEL SIR J.R. DUNLOP-SMITH, K.C.S.I., C.I.E. POLITICAL AIDE-DE-CAMP TO THE SECRETARY OF STATE.

In continuation of my demiofficial letter of this morning, I find that Messrs. Hamilton & Co., have actually got the diamond called the Darya-i-Noor in their possession and it is ready for Her Imperial Majesty's inspection at any time that may be appointed. Will you kindly let me know as soon as

possible whether Her Imperial Majesty wishes to see it and, if so, at what time. Please give me as long notice as possible.

I may mention, in case there may be any misapprehension on the subject, that the Darya-i-Noor which is with Hamilton is quite different from the Darya-i-Noor which is the subject of a law-suit between His Majesty the Amir and the family of the Amin-ud-Daulah. The latter it appears has been in the possession of the Amin-ud-Daulah's family since 1839 when it was taken from Shah Shuja. The Darya-i-Noor which is in Hamilton's possession was one of the jewels taken by Lord Dalhousie from the Lahore Durbar in 1850 and sent to England with the Koh-i-Noor.

DOCUMENT 6

Dated King-Emperor's Camp, the 6th January 1912.

From—

LIEUTENANT-COLONEL SIR J.R. DUNLOP-SMITH, K.C.S.I.
C.I.E., POLITICAL AIDE-DE-CAMP TO THE SECRETARY OF
STATE.

To—

J.B. WOOD, ESQ., C.I.E. ADDITIONAL SECRETARY TO THE
GOVERNMENT OF INDIA IN THE FOREIGN DEPARTMENT.

Many thanks for the enclosed, of which I have made a precis for the Queen who will be very interested. The only thing wanting now is the report from England as to what was done with the pearls and the spinel rubies. If you ever stumble on that please let me know. Of course they were given to Queen Victoria for Queen Mary has them now, but I should like to trace the stages in their history in the official papers.

DOCUMENT 7**Dated Calcutta, the 7th January 1912***From—*

LIEUTENANT-COLONEL SIR J.R. DUNLOP-SMITH, K.C.S.I.
C.I.E. POLITICAL AIDE-DE-CAMP TO THE SECRETARY OF STATE.

To—

J.B. WOOD, ESQ., C.I.E., ADDITIONAL SECRETARY TO THE
GOVERNMENT OF INDIA IN THE FOREIGN DEPARTMENT.

Many thanks for your two letters of yesterday. I am only sorry that the Barrackpore trip has prevented the Queen from inspecting the jewel. Her Imperial Majesty is very grateful to you for all the trouble you have taken in the matter.

Additional Secretary will be interested to learn that the jewel was inspected by the Queen and also by the King a couple of hours before the departure of Their Majesties from Calcutta on the 8th instant. I ascertained this fact from Mr. Smith of Hamilton's this morning. Mr. Smith said that His Majesty the King knew all about the gem. His Majesty said that it has been sent to England for Queen Victoria about the same time as the Koh-i-noor, and had been returned to India as Queen Victoria did not like it. His Majesty remarked that the jewel was interesting because of its antiquarian value and thought that such a jewel should find a place in a Museum; but their Majesties showed no disposition to possess the diamond.

A careful search will be made among our records for any report from the Court of Directors as to the manner in which the pearls and spinel rubies were disposed of in England.

L.R. A Proceedings, July 1911, Nos. 61-62.

Returned.

Revenue and Agriculture Department papers may be returned.

J.H.G.,-9-1-1912.

C.O,H.T.,-9-1-1912.

DOCUMENT 8**S.B. Paterson, -1-1-1912.****J.B. Wood, -11-1-1912.**

With reference to the penultimate paragraph of the foregoing note a careful search has been made, but no report from the Court of Directors on the subject can be traced.

J.H.G., -19-1-1912.

These papers may be recorded.

C.O.H.T., -19-1-1912.

S.B. Paterson, -20-1-1912.

Appendix to Notes

Illustrious Gem and far-famed first Water Diamond

Darya-i-Noor

(The Ocean of Light)

Description

It is encircled by ten large magnificent table diamonds of the first water and of the utmost brilliancy, free from all impurities in a rich gold-enamelled setting, in the form of an armlet, and also suited for a head ornament, with ten pearls.

History

The Darya-i-Noor is believed to be the largest and most beautiful diamond ever in Bengal. It was formerly for ages in possession of the Mahratta Princes, and afterwards passed, at a cost of 130,000 rupees to the ancestor of Nawab Soorajool Moolk, the present Minister of Hyderabad; subsequently it reached the Punjab and was in possession of the Maharajas Ranjeet Singh, Neonchal Singh and Shere Singh. It was sent to the Great Exhibition in 1850 with the Koh-i-noor possessed by the Queen of England, and it was remarkable for its very large surface and its superior brilliancy and purity of colour to

the Koh-i-Noor. Its wonderful size, perfection and the great weight make it of extraordinary commercial value and worthy alike of the refined taste of the Prime, Nobleman, or capitalist. This splendored jewel was sold by public sale by Messrs. Hamilton and Company, Jewellers at Calcutta, under the commands of the Government of India in November 1852, and was purchased by the Hon'ble Khajah Ali Mollah, Zamindar of Dacca, in the possession of whose descendants it now remains.

Hamilton & Co.,

DOCUMENT 9

From

THE RIGHT HON'BLE LIEUTENANT—COLONEL STR W.
CARINGTON G.C.V.O.

To

F.H. LUCAS, ESQ., C.B., INDIA OFFICE.

Thank you for your letter of the 13th instant, and the enclosed printed sheets, which will, I am sure, interest the Queen very much. Her Majesty says that the jewels referred to were sold by direction of Queen Charlotte on her death for the benefit of her daughters. One, or possibly two, of the jewels were bought by the Lord Westminister of the day, and one was offered for sale lately by the Duke of Westminister, but he could not get the price he wanted, I believe over 20,000, £ so the jewel was withdrawn from the sale.

I trust this information may be of some interest and assistance.

(Sent with reference to Sir A. McMahon's demi-official letter to Sir A. Hirtzel, dated 14th March 1911.)

Simla Records—5.

1912

Foreign Department

Deposit—G

Procs., April 1912, No. 1.

**Subject :—Note by Sir Dunlop—Smith, K.C.S.I.,
“C.I.E., on “the State Jewels of the Lahore Darbar”**

For references to former and later cases see within the cover.
References to former cases;

Branch, date, and Nos.

General B, February 1912, Nos. 117-118.

Brief title of file.

Particulars supplied to Her-Majesty the Queen-Empress regarding the disposal of the Darya-in-Noor and other jewels taken over from the Lahore Darbar at the annexation of the Punjab in 1949.

DOCUMENT 10**Foreign Department Notes.****Deposit—C.
April 1982, No. 2.****Notes by Sir James Dunlop-Smith K.C.S.I., C.I.E.,
on "the State Jewels of the Lahore Darbar".****Dated Whitehall, S.W., the 23rd February 1912.***From-*LIEUTENANT-COLONEL SIR JAMES R. DUNLOP SMITH, K.C.S.I.
C.I.F., POLITICAL AIDE-DE-CAMP INDIA OFFICE, LONDON.*To-*THE HON'BLE MR. J.B. WOOD, C.I.E., DEPUTY SECRETARY
TO THE GOVERNMENT OF INDIA IN THE FOREIGN DEPARTMENT.You will remember my researches into the history of the
Queen's pearls. I have now finished them, thanks to your
valuable help, and I enclose two copies of my note on the
subject. These may be of use to your office.P.S.—I am sending two copies by this mail to the Punjab
Government also.Our papers on the subject are still in press, but no action is
required on the foregoing letter, which is for information only.

General B, February 1912, Nos. 117-118.

Mr. Gabriel made certain enquiries about this case the
other day.

He may now see the note received.

C.O'H.T., 13-3-1912.

Yes, but first issue draft below.

S.B. PATTERSON, 14-3-1912.

DOCUMENT 11

Dated, Calcutta the 14th March 1912..

From-

MAJOR S.B. PATTERSON, I.A., ASSISTANT SECRETARY TO THE
GOVERNMENT OF INDIA IN THE FOREIGN DEPARTMENT.

To-

LIEUTENANT-COLONEL SIR JAMES DUNLOP-SMITH, K.C.S.I.,
C.I.E., POLITICAL AIDE-DE-CAMP, INDIA OFFICE, LONDON.

I am desired to acknowledge with thanks the receipt of your letter dated the 23rd February to Wood, who has left the Foreign Office, forwarding two copies of a note prepared by you on "the State jewels of the Lahore Darbar." The note will be of use for record in the Foreign Office and I will inform Wood of your appreciation of his assistance.

Secretary, Coronation Darbar Committee.

Seen and returned with thanks.

Foreign Department.

V. GABRIEL, 16-3-1912..

DOCUMENT 12

Dated Whitehall, S.W., the
29th March 1912.

From-

LIEUTENANT-COLONEL SIR JAMES DUNLOP-SMITH, K.C.S.I.,
C.I.E., POLITICAL AIDE-DE-CAMP, INDIA OFFICE, LONDON.

To-

THE HON'BLE LIEUTENANT-COLONEL SIR A.H. MCMAHON,
G.C.V.O., K.C.I.E., C.S.I., SECRETARY TO THE GOVERNMENT OF
INDIA IN THE FOREIGN DEPARTMENT.

In continuation of my previous note on the disposal of the Lahore Darbar jewels I enclose two copies of a note on the Timur Ruby which is one of the four spinel rubies mentioned in paragraph 8 of my first note. It is curious that it was not identified at the same time as the Koh-i-Noor. If you think the note will be of use, you might put it with the other records.

P.S.—I am sending 2 copies to the Punjab Government.

DOCUMENT 13**The State Jewels of the Lahore Darbar**

1. On the annexation of the Punjab in 1849 the Board of Administration took over all the State jewels along with other property found in the possession of the young Maharaja and the court officials.

Dr. Login was deputed to compile lists of all jewels and Toshakhana property and submitted his preliminary report to the Board of Administration on 7th May 1849. The value of the goods checked up to that date was Rs. 8, 96, 510 (104, 550£.) This was submitted to the Government of India by the Board of Administration in their No. 118, dated 10th May 1849, and orders regarding their disposal were solicited. In reply the Secretary in the Foreign Department in his No. 781, dated 23rd

May 1849, asked for a detailed report on all the property, pending which nothing was to be disposed of.

2. On 4th July 1849 Dr. Login submitted his final report with a huge list of everything found and checked by him. He had everything valued except the Koh-i-Noor, which he described as "invaluable." The Board, in forwarding this list in their No. 186, dated 6th July 1849, stated that the total value of the jewels, etc., always excluding the Koh-i-Noor was Rs. 16,40,035 (181,3371), but that there was still some other property worth about 7,00,000 (81,6661£).

On the 10th December 1849 Dr. Login submitted a further memorandum showing that the total value of the property under his charge in the Citadel of Lahore-still exclusive of the Koh-i-Noor was Rs. 37,15,302 (433,5031). The Board of Administration forwarded this report to the Government of India in their letter No. 386, dated 18th December 1849.

3. In their reply, No. 1468, dated 20th August 1849, to the Board's letter of 6th July referred to in the previous paragraph, the Government of India directed that some of the jewels should be made over to Maharaja Duleep Singh. These were all the jewels shown in the Board's list A, with the exception of necklace valued at Rs. 61,000, see paragraph 4 above which they said "ought to be retained." They added that in "lieu of this" other jewels should be made over "so as to make an aggregate of one lakh of rupees in value."

4. In their subsequent letter No. 1800, of the 7th September 1850, the Government of India in the Foreign Department gave instructions to the Board of Administration as to the disposal of the jewels in accordance with a despatch from the Hon'ble Court of Directors dated 15th May 1850, by sale with certain exceptions. These included (a) "such jewels as from their rarity may be fitted for the Museum of the Hon'ble Company," and the Koh-i-Noor which, when at Lahore in December last, the Governor-General took into his own possession for conveyance to England, where it has lately been delivered over to Her Majesty the Queen." The letter went on to say—"His Lordship selected a good many of the finest jewels, such as the gem termed the Darya-i-Noor, the great

necklace of pearls and others, with the intention of sending them to England for the inspection and orders of the Hon'ble Court. They were placed in a case apart and delivered to your Board. These jewels should now be sent to England. The Governor-General would add to them the robe of Maharaj Sher Singh, embroidered with pearls, and the girdle of emeralds which belongs to it. A set of the best jewelled horse furniture may also be transmitted as being curious." The letter went on to say—"His Lordship will suggest to the Hon'ble Court that they may fitly be added to the Exhibition of 1851 as the finest specimens available of Native jewellery."

5. The letter went on to approve the suggestion of the Board that the mass of treasure for England should be sent "on the river Indus", to Bombay whence the Right Hon'ble the Governor-General in Council will be requested to provide for their transmission to England."

The penultimate paragraph of this letter runs as follows:—
 "6. His Lordship has had the honour of receiving Her Majesty's commands to select some arms and armour for her collection from those preserved at Lahore. He finds himself unable to do so from the lists to his own satisfaction. He begs therefore that none of the arms may be disposed of until he has had an opportunity of selecting from them those which he wishes should be transmitted to Her Majesty. This the Governor-General will be able to do in November."

6. The instructions conveyed in the letter summarised above were communicated to Dr. Login's successor, who in his No. 293, dated 5th October 1850, reported that he had the following jewels and trappings prepared for despatch with the treasure about to be forwarded towards Bombay":—

"The Darya-i-Noor diamond set as an armlet with the smaller diamonds surrounding it Rs 63,000 (7,3501). Runjeet Singh's pearl necklace consisting of 224 large pearls, Rs. 40,000.

A shorter ditto of 104 pearls, Rs. 20,000.

A short necklace of four very large spinel rubies, Rs. 15,000.

A pair of emerald armlets 3 (or 30, the paper is torn) large stones in each, Rs. 10,000.

A carved emerald and diamond ornament for the turban, Rs. 1,200.

A set diamond and emerald bridle, martingale and crupper, Rs. 35,000.

A gold mounted saddle set with diamonds, emeralds and rubies, Rs. 15,000.

7. In his letter No. 553, dated 12th October 1850, the Secretary to the Board of Administration in Lahore reported to the Secretary in the Foreign Department that, inter alia, "the selections from the Punjab and Cashmere for the London Exhibition have been forwarded by the same opportunity (viz., boats on the river), and also three boxes of jewels conformably to the instructions contained in your letter No. 1800 of the 7th September." The enclosures of this letter gave the same detail of the jewels as is shown in the foregoing paragraph. The Secretary in the Foreign Department forwarded a copy of this to the Secretary to the Government of Bombay asking him to "ensure the safe and rapid transport," of the articles, and on forwarding them to England to effect an insurance of them to their full value. In his letter No. 42, dated 14th November 1850, the Governor-General advised the Court of Directors that the jewels were about to start, and added that if the jewels were eventually to be sold some would fetch a better price in India.

In his No. 4889, dated 24th December 1850, the Secretary to the Bombay Government reported that the jewels had been despatched "to the care of the Hon'ble the Court of Directors by the Overland route with the mail which left Bombay on the 17th instant.

8. In their Minute dated 16th October 1851 the Court of Directors resolved unanimously that in grateful recollection of the patronage vouchsafed by her Majesty the Queen to the Great Exhibition of the works of all nations, and especially to the Indian section of it, it will become them to offer for Her Majesty's gracious acceptance a specimen of each of the principal articles exhibited by the East India Company, that, with this view, the articles in the enclosed list be accordingly tendered, in the name of the Court, for Her Majesty's most gracious acceptance.

"LIST"

"A pearl necklace consisting of 224 large pearls.

"A short necklace of four very large spinel rubies.

"An emerald girdle."

The other entries in this list consist of some jewelled boxes and several cloths and carpets.

The Court then requested that the Chairman of the Board of Control should take Her Majesty's pleasure, and on the 30th October 1851 the Board replied that the Queen's commands were that the several articles in question may be conveyed in some secure mode to Buckingham Palace. On the 7th November 1851 the Court intimated that the articles had been made over to the Palace officials.

9. It should be noted here that early in 1851 someone raised the question as to whether the army of occupation was not entitled to some part at least of the Darbar property. This was referred to the Law Officers of the Crown, who held the arrangement of 29th March 1849, entered into between Lord Dalhousie and Maharaja Duleep Singh, could not be impugned. From this decision it followed that the confiscation "of all the property of the State" to the East India Company was upheld, and all these jewels were at the absolute disposal of the Board of Directors.

10. Such articles as were not presented to Queen Victoria were returned to India under cover of the following Despatch No. 34, dated 3rd December 1951:—

"We transmit to your address a box packet containing some of the jewels which you caused to be sent to us for the Great Exhibition. We had intended to include them with other articles in a public sale, but we are advised by competent judges that they are better suited to the market of India and should be sold there. You will therefore take measures accordingly. A list of the contents of the box accompanies this despatch.

We are etc.,

John Shepherd and others.

1. "The Darya-i-Noor diamond set as an armlet with ten smaller diamonds surrounding it.

2. "A pearl necklace.

3. "A pair of emerald armlets. Three large stones in each.

4. "A carved emerald and diamond turban ornament..

5. "A gold mounted saddle set with diamonds and emeralds and rubies with a crupper belonging to the same. A girth and stirrup leathers and stirrups.

6. "The late Maharaja Shere Singh's pearl robe and silk and gold trousers.

7. "A loose emerald supposed to belong to the horse trappings, and two loose pearls supposed to belong to the pearl robe."

11. On receipt these jewels were sent to the Government of India auctioneers, Messrs Hamilton & Co., of Calcutta, who sold them all at public auction, in November 1852. The Darya-i-Nur diamond was purchased by the late Nawab Sir Abdul Gunny of Dacca, for it, is believed, Rs. 75,000 (7,500£). Recently the assistance of the Government was asked for by the present Nawab Sir Salimullah Khan, G.C.I.E., in adjusting his debts, and he was advised to sell this jewel. It was sent to England but was returned as it was found impossible to obtain a fair price for it in Europe. It is now with Messrs Hamilton & Co., and is again for sale. The subsequent history of the other jewels has not been traced.

J.R. Dunlop-Smith.

India Office,
23rd February, 1912.

DOCUMENT 14

Timur Ruby

Engraved Spinel Rubies.

1. The name "Spinel" comes from the French word *espinelle*, which is a diminutive of the Latin *spinala* (thorn) and was perhaps originally suggested by the sharp angles of crystals. Tavernier in the account of his travels mentions the "espinels or mothers of rubies." Mr. James Prinsep, writing in 1832, stated that the "lal rumani scarlet or pomegranate coloured ruby, is probably the true spinelle, while the lal badakshani, or ruby of Eadakshan, of a rose colour, is what Europeans call the Balas ruby." The word "balas" is still used by British jewellers to describe the spinel ruby.

2. In 1894 Dr. V. Ball, C.B., read a paper on the subject of engraved spinel rubies before the Royal Irish Academy in Dublin, in which he stated that there were four recorded cases of rubies engraved with the titles of the Moghul Emperors of India or Shahs of Persia. One of these was the famous "Timur's or Throne Ruby," but he had never seen it, as up till then all trace of it appeared to have been lost since it had been last seen in the possession of Maharaja Ranjit Singh. As a matter of fact the gem at that time formed one of the Crown jewels of England. Mr. Mirza Abbas Ali Baig, Member of Council of the Secretary of State for India, and I have made a careful examination of the inscriptions engraved upon it, and these rendered it possible to establish its identity.

3. The largest inscription is in Persian, but the script employed is Arabic. It is as follows:—

"Al lal minjumla bist o panj alf jowahir sidaq Shah-i-Shahan Sultan Sahib Qiran Kihdar san 1153 az jowahirat i Hindustan inja rasid."

Literally translated the inscription reads:—

This is the ruby from among the twenty five thousand genuine jewels of the King of Kings the Sultan Sahib Qiran

which in the year 1153 from the (collection of) jewels of Hindustan reached this place.”

The date is that of the Hijra era and correspond with 1740 A.D.

4. The other inscriptions on the gem are in the Persian language and scribe, and can be most conveniently shown in the following table, the last two columns of which show the corresponding date according to the Christian era and the duration of the reign of each Emperor whose name is given.

Inscription.		Corresponding	
Name.	Date Hijra.	date A.D.	Date of reign A.D
1.	2.	3.	4.
Akbar Shah Jehangir Shah.....	1021	1612	1556-1605 and 1605-1627.
Sahib Qiran Sani.....	1038	1628	1628-1658.
Alamgir Shah.....	1070	1659	1658-1707.
Badshah Ghazi Mahammad Farukh Siyar.....	1125	1713	1713-1718.
Ahmad Shah Dur-i- Duran.	1168	1754	1748-1772.

5. These inscriptions, with the light thrown on them by references to this gem in history and in contemporary records, show that it is the famous jewel commonly known both in Asia and Europe as the Timur Ruby. From the allusions to it in most of the authorities quoted in the Appendix, it is now possible to trace its story with very few breaks for the last 500 years. The long inscription given in paragraph 3 was evidently cut on the stone by the order of Nadir Shah, and proves that

it originally belonged to Amir Timur, the Tartar conqueror, commonly called in Europe Tamerlane. But the name by which he has always been known in Asia and the Moslem world is Sahib Qiran, which means "The Lord of the auspicious conjunction." The conjunction referred to is that of Venus and Jupiter. Timur is the only person in history who bears this name, but the Emperor Shah Jahan, more than 200 years later, called himself "Sahib Qiran Sani" (the second). Timur was born in 1336 A.D., and proclaimed himself ruler of Khorasan in 1370. He remained in India for little over a year and returned to Samarkand in the spring of 1399.

6. The origin of this ruby is obscure, but Dow, relying on what he calls "the authentic history" of Mahomed Qasim Ferishta of Delhi, a contemporary of Jehangir, records that it fell into the hands of Timur when he plundered Delhi. I have been unable to actually prove whether it was taken away by the conqueror when he left India. Baron Hugel states that it was stolen from Timur while he was still in India, but there appears to be no confirmation of this report in the contemporary vernacular records. I am inclined to think it must have gone to Samarkand, for Abdul Hamid (1650) and Inayat Khan (1658) both state that when it came into the possession of Jehangir it bore the names of Mir Shah Rukh, Mirza Ulugh Beg in 1408. He died in 1447, and was succeeded by his son Mirza Ulugh Beg, the famous astronomer, who reigned only two years when his son Abdul Latif killed him and took the throne. These three names are now no longer on the ruby, the oldest inscription going back only to 1612, but the stone still shows signs of having been cut, and it is quite possible that Jehangir or one of his successors had them removed.

7. The next we hear of the ruby is that it was presented by Shah Abbas I the greatest of the Safavi kings of Persia, a dynasty which was finally wiped out by Nadir Shah. His reign lasted from 1587 to 1629 and it was he who in conjunction with the British forces took the island of Ormus from the Portuguese in 1622. He presented this ruby to the Emperor Jehangir with whom he maintained a constant intercourse for

some years. Jehangir at once had the names of himself and of his father, the great Akbar, engraved on it. When his favourite wife Nur Jehan remonstrated with him for spoiling the gem he said "This jewel will more certainly hand down my name to posterity than any written history. The House of Timur may fall, but as long as there is a king this jewel will be his."

8. The ruby next passed to Shah Jahan, who also inscribed his name on it and finally had it set in the famous Peacock Throne. On his deposition by his son, Aurangzeb or Alamgir Shah, the gem went with the rest of the jewels. There were two Emperors between Aurangzeb and M. Farukh Siyar, but only the latter had his name engraved on the stone. Muhammad Shah began his reign in 1719, and presumably the ruby passed to him, for when Nadir Shah sacked Delhi in 1739, he took it with most of the jewels forming the Peacock Throne. It was then described as "a ruby upwards of a girih (three fingers breadth) in width and nearly two in length, and was commonly called the *khiraj-i-alam* (tribute of the world)". This is the name by which it is generally described in vernacular histories of the time, but it never seems to have been adopted by European experts who always describe it as "the Timur Ruby". The long inscription on the jewel shows that Nadir Shah took it back with him to his capital, Isfahan, by which is meant "this place".

9. The last name of the ruby is that of Ahmad Shah, who describes himself as "pearl of Pearls". This title is said to have been adopted from the distinctive custom of Abdali tribe of wearing a small pearl studded ring in the right ear. He is known in history both as Ahmad Shah Abdali and Ahmad Shah Durani. At the time of Nadir Shah's assassination in 1747, Ahmad Shah, who was a native of Abdul, near Herat, held an important command in his army. On hearing of the murder he attempted to seize the throne but failed, and then at the head of a larger body of Uzbeks marched on Afghanistan where he founded a kingdom with its capital at Kabul. From Afghanistan he carried out four invasions of India. He must have secured possession of the ruby in the confusion following the death of Nadir Shah at Isfahan. Timur Shah, his

son, succeeded to the gem on his father's death in 1772, and it eventually passed to Shah Shuja, his youngest son. During the latter's detention at Lahore he was forced to give up this ruby along with the Koh-i-Noor diamond to Maharaja Ranjit Singh.

10. In 1838-39 Lord Auckland, then Governor-General of India, paid a visit to the Punjab and was the guest of Maharaja Ranjit Singh. He was accompanied by his sister, the Hon' ble Emily Eden, who was able when at Lahore to make sketches of the principal jewels belonging to the Sikh Durbar. These include an exact painting of the Timur ruby. Miss Eden evidently did not know the history of the jewel, and describes it in the letterpress of her work, which was published in 1844, as "an uncut ruby on which some Persian characters were engraved".

11. A little more than ten years later, on the annexation of the Punjab in 1849, the Board of Administration took over all the State jewels. No close examination of individual gems appears to have been made at the time by the officials who were entrusted with the arrangement and cataloguing of the whole collection. The Koh-i-Noor alone was identified and sent direct by the hands of a special officer to England and at once delivered to the late Queen Victoria. Some of the more valuable gems and articles found in the Toshakhana, including the Timur ruby, were packed up in Lahore and sent via Karachi and Bombay to London. These were well displayed in the Great Exhibition of 1851, and when this was closed the Court of Directors of the East India Company presented the ruby along with some pearls and an emerald girdle to Her late Majesty.

12. The Timur ruby weighs 352 carats and is set in a necklace containing three other spinel rubies, weighing respectively 94, 72, and 34 carats. None of these bear any inscription. It is by far the largest spinel ruby known to exist. The weight of the unengraved spinel ruby in the Crown of England given to the Black Prince by Dom Pedro of Castile in 1367 is not known, but it is not so large as the Timur ruby. The next

engraved spinel ruby of which there is an accurate account, is that belonging to Lady Carew, which weighs 133 carats. The gem known as Nadir Shah's ruby weighed 197 carats before it was cut down to form a rectangular—shaped jewel. The historical ruby presented to the late king Edward by the late Maharaja of Nabha in 1903 weighs 123 carats.

J.R. Dunlop Smith.

India Office;
21st March 1912.

APPENDIX

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Dated Simla, the 19th April 1912.

From—

THE HON'BLE LIEUTENANT-COLONEL SIR A.H. MCMAHON?
G.C.V.O., K.C.I.E., C.S.I., SECRETARY TO THE GOVERNMENT OF
INDIA IN THE FOREIGN DEPARTMENT.

To—

LIEUTENANT-COLONEL SIR J.R. DUNLOP-SMITH, K.C.S.I.,
C.S.I. POLITICAL AIDE-DE-CAMP, INDIA OFFICE, LONDON.

Many thanks for your every interesting note reg. "Engraved spinel rubies" received with your letter dated the 29th March. The note will prove useful and will be brought on to record with your previous one relating to the States jewels the Lahore Durbar.

PART—C

DOCUMENT 1

**Extracts taken from "Memoirs of Zehir-Ed-Din Muhammed Babur", emperor of Hindustan ?
Written by himself, in the Chaghatai Turki and
Translated by John Leyden, Esq., M.D. and
William Erskine, Esq. Annotated and Revised by
Sir Lucas King, C.S.I., LL.D., F.S.A., Vol. II.**

...

Bikermajit, a Hindu, who was Raja of Gwalior, had governed that country for upwards of a hundred years,¹ Sikander had remained several years in Agra, employed in an attempt to take Gwalior. Afterwards, in the reign of Ibrahim, Azim Humaiun Sarwani invested it for some time, made several attacks, and at length succeeded in gaining it by treaty, Shamsabad² being given as an indemnification. In the battle in which Ibrahim was defeated, Bikermajit was sent to hell.³ Bikermajit's family, and the heads of his clan,⁴ were at this moment in Agra. When Humaiun arrived, Bikermajit's people attempted to escape, but were taken by the parties which Humaiun had placed upon the watch and put in custody. Humaiun did not permit them to be plundered. Of their own free will they presented to Humaiun a peshkesh, consisting of

1. According to Sir A. Cunningham, Vikramaditya, a Tomar Prince, succeeded his father, Man Singh, as ruler of Gwalior in 1516. In 1518 Gwalior was captured by Ibrahim Lodi.
2. Shamsabad is a town in the Farrukhabad district of the United Provinces, eighteen miles north-west of Farrukhabad town. It took its name from Shams-ud-din Altamsh, who expelled the Rahtors and refounded the town in 1228.
3. The charitable mode in which a good Musulman signifies the death of an infidel.
4. Ala-ud-din Khilji (1296-1316).

a quantity of jewels and precious stones. Among these was one famous diamond, which had been acquired by Sultan Ala ed din.¹ It is so valuable, that a judge of diamonds valued it at half of the daily expense² of the whole world. It is about eight miskhals.³ On my arrival, Humaiun presented it to me as a peshkesh, and I gave it back to him as a present.

.....

Humaiun reached Agra neither sent for nor expected, but the affection of his father, and the influence of his mother, procured him a good reception. His offence was forgotten, and, after remaining some time at court, he went to his government of Sambal. When he had resided about six months he fell dangerously ill. His father, whose favourite son he seems to have been, was deeply affected at this news, and gave directions for conveying him by water to Agra. He arrived there, but his life was despaired of. When all hopes from medicine were over, and while several men of skill were talking to the emperor of the melancholy situation of his son, Abul Baka, a personage highly venerated for his knowledge and piety, remarked to Babur, that in such a case the Almighty had sometimes vouchsafed to receive the most valuable thing possessed by one friend, as an offering in exchange for the life of another. Babur, exclaiming that of all things, his life was dearest to Humaiun, as Humaiun's was to him, and that, next to the life of Humaiun, his own was what he most valued, devoted his life to Heaven as a sacrifice for his son's. The noblemen around him entreated him to retract the rash vow, and, in place of his first offering, to give the diamond taken at Agra, and reckoned the most valuable on earth; that the ancient sages had said, that it was the dearest of our worldly possessions alone that was to be offered to Heaven.

1. Members of his family.

2. A day's expenses.

3. Or 320 ratis. (This diamond is by some authorities supposed to be the celebrated Koh-i-nur. A rati is a weight equal to eight barley corns, the seed of the *Abrus precatorius*, weighing about 1.825 of a Troy grain.)

DOCUMENT 2

Extracts taken from "The Life and Times of Humayun" by Ishwari Prasad, M.A., LL.B., D. Litt, M.L.C.

..

No sooner was the field of Panipat Fairly won, than Humayun was despatched to Agra to seize the treasure and the royal residence there situated. The inhabitants made their submission, but requested the prince not to lead his army into the fortified area. Unwilling to employ violence, Humayun contended himself with occupying the faubourg and blockading the fort, in order to prevent the escape of important personages or of any portion of the treasure. While he was waiting for his father to come and deal with the situation, chance threw in his way a rich prize. In the fort were the children and household of Bikramajit, Raja of Gwalior, who had been compelled to place his dearest possessions under the power of Sultan Ibrahim as hostages for his good faith. Bikramajit, fell on the Panipat field beside his lord; and the dead man's relatives, having now nothing to lose by escaping from Agra desired to return to their own country. As they were leaving the town, they were arrested by Humayun's guards, and kept under careful supervision. But the prince's orders against plundering had been strict, and no attempt was made to deprive the captives of the possessions they had brought with them. Either in gratitude for the humanity of their treatment or in the hope that the favour of the prince might be purchased, they presented Humayun with a large number of precious stones. Among these was a great diamond, now generally identified with Koh-i-Noor, the price of which was reckoned by contemporary opinion at the daily expenditure of the entire world.

Just a fortnight after the battle of Panipat, on May 10, Babur came to the outskirts of Agra, where he was dutifully received by his son. Humayun offered to his father the great diamond which he had polished, but Babur, with the generosity

which gained for him the nickname of Kalandar¹ (mendicant) at once gave it back again.

1. On the mosque built by Babur at Ajodhia there is the following line in the inscription;

“Babur, the qalandar, is well-known in the world and king”

Qalandar is not uncommon in Muslim history. Qutbuddin Aibek was known as a qalandar. Babur himself felt like a darvesh as the following lines show :

Though I be not related to dervishes,
Yet am I their follower in heart and soul.
Say not a king is far from a dervish.
I am a king but yet the slave of dervishes.

DOCUMENT 3

TRAVELS IN INDIA

By

Jean Baptiste Tavernier

APPENDIX-I

1. The Great Moghul's Diamond and the true History
of the Koh-i-noor

ALTHOUGH the writers on this subject are very numerous, still it is believed that almost every one of them who has contributed to its elucidation has been consulted in the preparation of this account; and it is certain that many, whose writings have also been consulted, are chiefly noteworthy for the amount of confusion which they have unfortunately introduced into it. The principal authorities are enumerated in the note below.¹ It would only prove puzzling to the

1. It will be convenient to classify the principal authorities according to the theories which they have respectively adopted, as follows :

FIRST, THOSE WHO MAINTAIN THE IDENTITY OF THE KOH-I-NUR WITH BABAR'S DIAMOND :

Erskine, Life of Babar, p. 308; Rev. C.W King, 'Natural History of Precious Stones, Bohn's Ed., 1870, p. 70; E.W. Streeter, The Great Diamonds of the World, p. 116.

SECOND, THOSE WHO MAINTAIN THE IDENTITY OF THE KOH-I-NUR WITH THE GREAT MOGHUL'S AND WHO EITHER TREAT BABAR'S DIAMOND AS DISTINCT OR MAKE NO SPECIAL REFERENCE TO IT :

James Forbes, Oriental Memoirs, 1834, Vol. II, p. 175; Major-General Sleeman, Rambles and Recollections, 1844, Vol. I, p. 361; James Tennant, Lecture on Gems and Precious Stones, 1852, p. 84; V. Ball, Jour. As. Socy. of Bengal, 1880, Vol. I, Pt. ii, p. 31, and Economic Geology of India, 1881, p. 19.

THIRD, THOSE WHO MAINTAIN THE IDENTITY OF THE KOH-I-NUR WITH BOTH BABAR'S AND THE GREAT MOGUL'S DIAMONDS :

Official descriptive Catalogue of the Great Exhibition of 1851; Pt. iii, p. 695; Kluge, Handbuch der Edelstein-kunde, Leipzig, 1860, p. 240; Professor N.S. Maskelyne, Roy. Inst. of Great Britain, March 1860, and Edb. Rev., 1866, pp. 247-8; Genl. Cunningham, Arch. Reports, vol. ii, p. 390; Professor Nicol, Encyclopaedia Britannica, Art. "Diamond."

It would not be difficult to add to the above a score of names of writers who have supported one or other of these theories.

reader and cloud the main issue were any considerable space devoted to refuting the errors and correcting the misquotations regarding it, which are so common in works on precious stones. It seems to be a better course to endeavour to secure close attention to the facts of the case, supported by well-verified references, so that the reader may be in a position to pronounce for himself a verdict on definite evidence alone, and accept or reject the conclusions which are here suggested.

In order, so to speak, to clear the way for the discussion, it will be necessary, as a preliminary, to give short accounts of all the large diamonds with which authors have sought to identify the Koh-i-Noor.

First, there is the diamond of Sultan Babar, which his son Humayun received in the year A.D. 1526 from the family of Raja Bikermajit, when he took possession of Agra. It had already then a recorded history, having been acquired from the Raja of Malwa by Ala-ud-din in the year 1304.¹ Regarding its traditional history, which extends 5000 years further back, nothing need be said here; though it has afforded sundry imaginative writers a subject for highly characteristic paragraphs.

According to Sultan Babar the diamond was equal in value to one day's food of all the people in the world. Its estimated weight was about 8 mishkals, and as he gives a value of 40 ratis to the mishkal it weighed, in other words, about 320 ratis. Ferishta² states that Babar accepted the diamond in lieu of any other ransom, for the private property of individuals, and that it weighed 8 mishkals or 224 ratis. Hence 1 mishkal=28 ratis, from which we may deduce that the ratis Ferishta referred to were to those of Babar, of which 40 went to the mishkal, as 28 : 40; and this, on the supposition that the smaller rati was equal to 1.842 troy grs., gives a value of 2.63 troy grs. for the larger, which closely approximates to the value of the pearl rati of Tavernier. If on the other hand we deduce the smaller

1. See Erskine's *Memoirs of Sultan Babar*, p. 308.

2. *History of the Rise of the Mohamedan Power in India etc.*, trans. by J. Briggs, London, 1829, vol. ii, p. 46.

from the larger (at 2.66 grs. for the pearl rati) we obtain for it a value of 1.86. So far as I am aware, this explanation of Ferishta's figures¹ has not been published before. The value of the mishkal in Babar's time, as being a more tangible weight than the variable rati, has been investigated by Prof. Maskelyne,² and he concludes that it was equal to about 74 grs. troy, and that if taken at 73.69 grs. troy, and multiplied by 8, it would yield a weight exactly corresponding to that of the Koh-i-Noor when brought to England, namely 186.06 carats. Accepting the second estimate for the value of the mishkal, that of Babar's rati would be 1.842 gr. troy, and the value of his diamond in carats might be expressed by the following equation.

$$\frac{320 \times 1.842}{3.168 \text{ (troy grs. in a carat)}} = 186.06 \text{ carats}$$

In such a calculation it is well to bear in mind that a very slight variation in the rati, as a unit, would when multiplied, produce a considerable difference in the result. Thus, if 1.86 were put instead of 1.842, the resultant would be enhanced above the desired figure, namely the weight of the Koh-i-Noor.

Here I must leave Babar's diamond for the present, without expressing any more decided opinion as to the absolute accuracy of the data which make its weight appear to be actually identical with that of the Koh-i-Noor, being however, as will be seen in the sequel, quite content not to dispute their general correctness, though my deduction therefrom does not accord with Professor Maskelyne's.

In the year 1563 Garcia de Orta, in his famous work on the *Simples and Drugs of India*:³ mentioned four large diamonds, one of which he was told had been seen at Bisnagar, i.e. Vyayanagar, and was the size of a small hen's egg. The others weighed respectively—

1. See also Dow, *History of Hindustan*, 1812, vol. ii, p. 105.

2. Lecture at the Royal Institution, March 1860.

3. *Colloquios dos Simples e drogase cousas medicinaes da India*, p. 159.

120 mangelis=120 ratis=150 carats.¹

148 " =233 $\frac{1}{3}$ " =175 "

250 " =416 $\frac{2}{3}$ " =312 $\frac{1}{2}$ "

None of these three last can be identified with the Great Mogul's diamond, because, even supposing it had been already discovered at so early a date as 1563, it must then, as well be seen hereafter, have been uncut, and had a weight of 787 $\frac{1}{2}$ carats, or more than double the weight of the largest of them; but it might have been the one spoken of as being of the size of a small hen's egg, as that was probably its form in its early condition when acquired by Mir Jumla. As to whether any of the stones mentioned by Garcia could have been the same as Babar's diamond, it is quite useless to speculate; but, as none of them are said to have belonged to the Mogul, it seems to be most improbable.

In the year 1609, De Boot, in his work on gems, etc. referred to all these diamonds mentioned by Garcia, but when doing so, was guilty of three serious blunders, which have hitherto been undetected, except by his editor, Adrian Toll, they have misled many subsequent authors, who have overlooked the editorial comments, including the Rev. Mr. King and Professor Maskelyne. The first was in giving Monardes instead of Garcia as his authority; the second in treating the mangeli as though it were the equivalent of the carat; and thirdly, in making, on the supposed authority of Monardes, a statement to the effect that the largest known diamond weighed 187 $\frac{1}{2}$ carats.²

The explanation of De Boot's confusion between the names of Monardes and Garcia is that Ecluze (Clusius), published a work in 1574, in which he incorporated in the same volume the writings of these two authors; and, as pointed out by Adrian Toll, Monardes does not even

1. He says the mangeli=grs., the carat 4 grs., and the rati 3 grs. (of wheat).

2. *Gemmarum et Lapidum Historia*, 3d ed., by De Lact, 1647, p. 29.

allude to diamonds, his work being on the drugs of the West Indies.¹

The question remains—where did De Boot obtain the figure $187\frac{1}{2}$, which approximates to the weight of the Koh-i-nur, when brought to England, and the weight of Babar's diamond as estimated above? It has been seized upon by Professor Maskelyne; who quotes it from King, as a link in the chain connecting the two first-mentioned diamonds. It is a worthless link, however. It originated in a further manifestation of De Boot's carelessness.² What he really quoted from was not a passage in Monardes's work, as he says, nor in that of Garcia this time, but it was a commentary or note on the latter's statement about Indian diamonds, by the editor Ecluze; and, as will be seen in the note itself, which is of sufficient importance to be given in the original Latin, it refers to the largest diamond ever seen in Belgium³ its weight being $47\frac{1}{2}$ carats, or 190 grs. There can be no doubt that the statement by De Boot regarding a diamond weighing $187\frac{1}{2}$ carats was, as pointed out by Adrian Toll and De Lact, utterly spurious. It was therefore quite unworthy of the notice it has received from the above-named authors, and is of no value whatever for the purposes of this history.

No attention has hitherto been given by writers to a large diamond which, as pointed out in a footnote⁴ was obtained by a Portuguese who worked the mine at Wajra Karur in Bellary about the beginning of the seventeenth century. It weighed, apparently, 434.7 carats. Nothing of its subsequent history is known, but it cannot have been

1. It was first printed at Saville in 1565.

2. Rossnel, in *Le Mercure Indian*, Paris 1667, evidently quoting from De Boot, makes the same mistake.

3. *Majorem vero Adamantem in Belgio conspectum haud puto, quam Philippus II. Hispaniarum Rex ducturus Elizabetham, Henr, II. Gall, Regis filiam majorem natu emit de Carolo Assetato Antwerpia, Anno 1559, Octogies Millenis Cronatis; pendebat autem Car. xlviij, cum semine ($=47\frac{1}{2}$), id est grana 190.—De Gemmis et Lapidibus, Lib. II., J. de Lact, Lug. Bat. 1647, p. 9.*

4. See p. 54.

the one presented by Mir Jumla to Shah Jahan. It may, however, have been the Pitt diamond, which, when offered to Pitt in 1701, weighed 426 carats; but if so, it remained uncut for nearly a century, and the generally accepted story of the Pitt diamond is that it was obtained at the mine at Partial.

We may now pass to a brief summary of the facts contained in Tavernier's several independent references to the Great Mogul's diamond—

First, in order of sequence, after describing the Mogul's jewels, he mentions (vol. i, Book II, chap. X, p. 395) its weight as being $319\frac{1}{2}$ ratis, or 280 carats, the rati being $\frac{7}{8}$ th of a carat. When first presented to Shah Jahan by Mir Jumla it weighed, he says, 900 ratis or $787\frac{1}{2}$ carats, and had several flaws, but when he saw it was round, rose cut, very steep at one side, with a notch on the basal margin, and in internal flaw; its water was beautiful.

Secondly, when describing (vol. ii, Book II, chap. xvi, p. 74) the mine of Kollur (Gani or Coulour) he says that there was found in it the great diamond which weighed 900 carats (?) before cutting, and was presented to Aurangzeb (?) by Mir Jumla. This account, as already pointed out, contains several mistakes. Tavernier adds that the mine had been opened 100 years previously.

Thirdly (vol. ii, Book II, chap. xviii, p. 97), he states that the Great Mogul's diamond was of perfect water and good form, and weighed $279\frac{9}{16}$ carats. Its value he estimated as amounting to 11,723,278 livres, 14 sols, 3 liards, or £879,245 : 18 : $1\frac{1}{2}$. If it had weighed 279 carats only it would have been worth 11,676,150 livres, and consequently the value of the $\frac{9}{16}$ th of a carat, owing to the geometrical method of calculation, amounted to 47,128 livres, 14 sols, 3 liards, or £3534 : 13 : $1\frac{1}{2}$.

Fourthly (vol. ii, Book II, chap. xxii, p. 123), he states that he was permitted to weigh the diamond, and ascertained

its weight to be $319\frac{1}{2}$ ratis, or $279\frac{9}{16}$ carats, and adds, "when in the rough it weighed, as I have elsewhere said, 907 ratis, or $793\frac{5}{8}$ carats". Its form was as of an egg cut in two.

Tavernier's figure of the diamond (see Plate II) has been referred to by Mr. King as being carefully drawn. It is true that very neat representations of it have appeared in works on mineralogy and precious stones, and glass models have been made on the same lines, but the original figure can only be correctly described as a very rude unprojected diagram, in which the facets are bounded by three transverse series of parallel lines which intersect one another irregularly.

The only other early mention of this diamond is by Bernier, who calls it "matchless." and states that it was presented to Shah Jahan by Mir Jumla when he advised him to despatch an army for the conquest of Golconda.¹

Let us now endeavour to reduce these statements to a common denomination. First, it must be stated that Tavernier and Bernier, both of whom refer expressly to the famous topaz belonging to Aurangzeb, are not likely to have been mistaken as to the nature of the stone examined; that it was a diamond may be safely accepted, in spite of any suggestion which have been made by authors to the contrary.

With regard to Tavernier's second statement, it is clearly wrong in two particulars, both of which may be attributed to the errors of a copyist, who wrote Aurangzeb for Shah Jahan, and 900 carats in mistake for 900 ratis. This statement, therefore, being put aside from consideration, we have then left for comparison the following, Original weight 900 ratis= $787\frac{1}{2}$ carats; after cutting $319\frac{1}{2}$ ratis= 280 carats.

Original weight 907 ratis= $793\frac{5}{8}$ carats; after cutting $319\frac{1}{2}$ ratis= $279\frac{9}{16}$ carats.

1. *History of the Late Revolution, Eng. Trans., vol. i, p. 44.*

Calculated according to Tavernier's own statement that the rati was equal to $\frac{7}{8}$ of the carat, the equivalents would more correctly be stated as follows :—

$$\left. \begin{array}{l} 900 \text{ ratis} = 788 \frac{1}{2} \text{ carats}^1 \\ 907 \text{ ratis} = 793 \frac{5}{8} \text{ carats} \end{array} \right\} \begin{array}{l} 319 \frac{1}{2} \text{ ratis} = \\ 279 \frac{9}{16} \text{ carats.} \end{array}$$

We have then, at first sight, the remarkable apparent coincidence in weights between this diamond, when cut, of $319 \frac{1}{2}$ ratis, and Babar's of about 8 mishkals (i.e. about 320 ratis); but the ratis were of very different values, the former being equal to 2.66² troy grs., and the latter to about 1.842 (or 1.86 ?) grs., hence the respective weights, in carats, as already shown, are $186 \frac{1}{16}$ and $279 \frac{9}{16}$, the difference in weights of the two stones being therefore, apparently, $93 \frac{1}{2}$ carats. But in anticipation of the discussion to be found on page 447 as to the reasons which have led to the conclusion that Tavernier used the light Florentine carat, it should be stated here that the weight of the Mogul's diamond, in English carats, was 4 per cent less than Tavernier's figures, in terms of Florentine carats; hence its weight, in order to be compared with other diamonds given in terms of English carats, should be $268 \frac{19}{50}$ from which, if we subtract $186 \frac{1}{16}$, the difference would be $82 \frac{1}{3}$ carats, nearly. The similarity between the weight of Babar's diamond at 320 ratis' and the Mogul's at $319 \frac{1}{2}$ ratis, is delusive, as in ratis of the

1. The discrepancy between those two accounts of the original weight of the stone, which Tavernier probably obtained from native reports, one being 900 ratis and the other 907 ratis, does not in the least affect the question here discussed, as it is only the weight of the stone after cutting that we have to do with.
2. On page 448 my reasons for modifying the first conclusion, stated in vol. i, Appendix, as to the value of the pearl rati will be explained.

same denomination the former figure should be given at about 224 ratis, which is Ferishta's equivalent for 8 mishkals.

So that the real difference amounts to $319\frac{1}{2} - 224 = 95\frac{1}{2}$

ratis, or, expressed in carats, at $\frac{7}{8}$ ths of a carat = 1 rati,

$83\frac{1}{3}$ carats. This is sufficiently close to the $82\frac{1}{3}$ carats, independently deduced, to justify the conclusion that the weight of Babar's diamond was about 83 carats less than that of the Moguls.

There is, I believe, no direct record of the size and weights of the diamonds carried away from Delhi by Nadir Shah, but before dealing with that portion of the history, it will be convenient to refer here to an interesting statement by Forbes¹ which has been overlooked by most writers on the subject. He states that a Persian nobleman, who possessed a diamond weighing 117 carats, which was subsequently lost at sea, informed him when at Cambay in the years 1781, that there had been two diamonds in the Royal Treasury at Ispahan, one of which, called Kooitoor (Koh-i-nur?), "The Hill of Lustre," weighed 264 carats, and its value was estimated at £500,000. The other, called Dorriainoor (Dariya-i-nur), "The Ocean of Lustre," was of a flat surface. Both formed a portion of the treasure, amounting in value to from 70 to 80 millions sterling, which Nadir Shah carried away from Delhi in 1739.

Forbes suggests that the first was the Mogul's diamond, described by Tavernier, remarking that the difference between the weights 264 and $279\frac{6}{16}$ carats may easily be allowed between the accounts given by a Persian and a European traveller, (If, as above suggested, the weight of the latter was $268\frac{9}{50}$ English carats the approximation is still closer). The Dariya-i-nur, as we shall presently see, still belongs to Persia, and as it weighs 186 carats, there is no known fact which in the

1. *Oriental Memoirs*, Vol. ii, p. 175.

slightest degree affects the possibility of its being identical with Babar's diamond.

Several writers, among them Professor Schrauf of Vienna,¹ have suggested that the Moghul's diamond is to be identified with the similarly shaped Orloff, now belonging to Russia. Apart from the discrepancy in the weights and in the size, as shown by Tavernier's drawing, which was intended to represent the natural size of the former, it is tolerably certain that the Orloff was obtained from the temple of Sriranga, on an island in the Cauvery river, in Mysore. It was therefore a possession of the Hindus, and it is most improbable that it ever belonged to the Moghuls.

Reference has been made by some authors to the long historical chain which, they say, connects Babar's diamond with the Koh-i-nur. As to the length of the supposed chain, it would extend over a period of 500 years at the least; but as to the links composing it, there is this to be said—they are all utterly unsound. In making so emphatic a statement I feel the necessity of being very sure of the grounds of my argument, especially as it is opposed to the views of many authorities, who, however, do not agree with one another as to details.

In deference to the opinions of Erskine, Professor Maskelyne, and General Cunningham, it may no doubt with perfect safety be admitted that the weight of Babar's diamond in 1526 was, as stated above, about 8 mishkals or 320 ratis, and that these were equivalent to about 186 or 187 modern English carats. But it must be at once plainly stated that there is no direct evidence that any diamond of that weight was in the possession of the Moghul Emperors at any subsequent period, up to the time of Nadir Shah's invasion. We know nothing as to the weight of the Koh-i-nur, as such, till about the time it was brought to England, namely, the year 1850; and then, although its weight was $186\frac{1}{6}$ carats, the evidence, as will be seen, is to the effect that it was not identical with Babar's diamond.

1. Handbuch der Edelsteinkunde, Vienna, 1869, p. 103.

In order to put this clearly it is necessary to summarise what has already been stated about other diamonds. Those mentioned by Carcia de Orta were not apparently in the possession of the Moghul, and their weights do not correspond to those of either the Moguhl's or Babar's diamonds. The diamond of $187\frac{1}{2}$ carats referred to by De Boot has been shown to be mythical. Again, Tavernier did not see any stone of the weight above attributed to Babar's diamond in the possession of the Great Moghul, Aurangzeb, nor can we suppose that he heard of any such diamond being in the possession of Shah Jahan, who was then confined in prison, where he retained a number of jewels in his own possession.¹ If either he or Bernier had heard of such a stone he would surely have mentioned it. It is probable, however, that Babar's diamond was really in Shah Jahan's possession when Shah Jahan died.²

Tavernier's statements, in so far as they relate to this history, are—I. That the Great Moghul's diamond was found in the mine at Kollur, when, we cannot say, though Murray, Streeter, and other writers have ventured to assign precise dates. II. It was acquired by Mir Jumla, and presented by him to Shah Jahan about the year 1656. III. It originally weighed 900 ratis or $78\frac{1}{2}$ carats; but having been placed in the hands of Hortensio Borgio, it was so much reduced by grinding, distinctly not by cleavage, that, when seen by Tavernier, he personally ascertained that it only weighed $319\frac{1}{2}$ ratis or $279\frac{9}{16}$ carats. IV. The figure given by Tavernier, though very rudely drawn, is of a stone which must have weighed full $279\frac{9}{16}$ carats (Florentine), and it corresponds fairly with his description. V. This description mentions a steepness on one side and certain flaws, etc.

In order to identify the Moghul's diamond with Babar's.

1. See vol. i, p. 371.

2. See vol. i, p. 344.

certain authorities, notably Professor Maskelyne, have suggested that Tavernier's description did not really apply to the diamond presented by Mir Jumla to Shah Jahan; that the stone he describes had therefore not been found at Kollur; that he was mistaken as to the particular kind of ratis which he mentions, and that consequently his equivalent in carats—calculated on the supposition that they were pearl ratis—was incorrect; finally, Professor Maskelyne maintains that Tavernier's drawing of the stone differs from his description of it, and was wholly incorrect and exaggerated in size.

Thus, in order to establish this supposed link of the chain, we are invited to whittle down Tavernier's account until it amounts to a bare statement that he saw a large diamond, about which all that he records as to its weight and history is incorrect.

If I were not prepared to maintain that a jeweller of Tavernier's large experience could not possibly have made the mistakes which have thus been suggested, I should feel that I had rendered a very ill service in editing these volumes. It is incredible that having actually handled and weighed the stone, at his leisure, he could have made so great a mistake as to believe that it weighed $279 \frac{9}{16}$, or in round numbers 280 carats (Florentine), while it was really one of only 186 carats (English).

The custom, which has been followed by many authors, of adopting or rejecting Tavernier's statements according as they agree or disagree with their independently conceived hypotheses, is one against which we are bound to protest. It is a kind of treatment which no author should receive. If supposed to be guilty of so many blunders all that such an author states severely alone.

Judging from Tavernier's drawing and description, the stone had been ground by Hortensio Borgio to a fairly symmetrical shape as a round rose, one side being, however, steeper than the other, which feature, though indicated to some extent in the original drawing, is not generally faithfully reproduced in the copies in various works on diamonds, and some of the glass

models which have been made are not only defective in this respect, but are altogether too small. This is mentioned here because these models are sometimes referred to as though they afforded authentic evidence of the true form of the stone.

We have now arrived at a stage when we can agree with those authorities who have maintained that Babar's diamond and the Moghul's were distinct; but with most, if not all of them, we must part company, as they maintain that the Moghul's diamond no longer exists, and that it was upon Babar's diamond that Nadir Shah conferred the title *Koh-i-nur* in the year 1739. But the Moghul's diamond has a stronger and more immediate claim to be regarded as the diamond, so denominated, which was taken from Muhammad Shah, Aurangzeb's feeble descendant. The name was an eminently suitable one to apply to the Moghul's stone as it was when seen by Tavernier, but by no means so applicable to it in its subsequent mutilated condition, in which it has been so confidently recognised as Babar's diamond.

The stone which now bears the title *Koh-i-nur* was taken by Nadir to Persia, and from thence we have rumours of its having been cleaved into several pieces, when or by whom is doubtful. Acceptance of these stories has been rendered difficult by some authors having attempted to assign names and weights to these pieces, the sum of the latter being greater than the total weight of the Moghul's stone, as it was when seen by Tavernier. Thus the Orloff, the Great Moghul itself, and the *Koh-i-nur* have been spoken of as having formed parts of the same stone.¹ This hypothesis is in opposition to everything connected with the histories of these stones which can be relied on; but as regards the possibility of the *Koh-i-nur* alone having been carved out of the Great Moghul's diamond, it is not argument—but is simply begging the whole question to assert that the *Koh-i-nur* existed 120 years before Borgio handled the Moghul's diamond. This Mr. Streeter has done,² and in his accounts of these diamonds he several times repeats that "all are agreed" that Babar's diamond and the *Koh-i-nur* are

1. Quenstedt, *Kbar and Wahr*, Tübingen, p. 79.

2. *Great Diamonds of the 'World*.

identical, and the Moghul's distinct, which are precisely the points at issue. Indeed he might be reminded that in his own previously published work¹ he states that "any doubt as to the Moghul and Koh-i-nur being identical is but rarely entertained"; this, I venture to believe, was the sounder opinion than the one more recently advocated by him.

At the meeting of the British Association in 1851² Dr. Beke referred to a diamond found among the jewels of Reeza Kuli Khan at the conquest of Khorassan by Abbas Mirza in 1832. It weighed 130 carats, and showed marks of cutting on the flat or largest face. It was presented to the Shah, and the jewellers of Teheran asked £16,000 for recutting it. Dr. Beke suggests that it was a part of the Koh-i-nur, meaning thereby the Moghul's diamond. This could not have been the case, because, as we have seen, the Moghul's diamond, if identical with the Koh-i-nur had only a margin of about $82\frac{1}{3}$ carats to lose, while if the latter be identical with Babar's diamond it could have lost nothing. At the subsequent meeting of the Association³ Professor Tennant improved on this by suggesting that the Russian diamond, i.e. the Orloff, formed a part of the same. Another suggestion about the Orloff has already been dealt with on a previous page.

A host of other writers have taken up this story, and lastly, Professor Nicol in his article on the diamond in the *Encyclopaedia Britannica* has unfortunately suggested that these three stones formed portions of the Moghul's stone seen by Tavernier, which amounts to saying that these three, weighing respectively 193, $186\frac{1}{16}$ and 130 carats,⁴ or in all $509\frac{1}{16}$ carats, were portions of one which weighed only between 279 and 280 (Florentine) carats. His statement that "the three united would

1. *Precious Stones*, Ed. p. 126.

2. See *Athenaum*, July 5, 1851.

3. *Ibid.*, September 25, 1852.

4. Professor Nicol gives the weights at $194\frac{3}{4}$, $186\frac{1}{16}$, and 132, the sum being $512\frac{13}{16}$.

have nearly the form and size given by Tavernier" is simply incomprehensible.

If, however, we merely suppose that the Moghul's stone, while in the hands of one or other of its necessitous owners, after it was taken to Persia by Nadir, had pieces removed from it by cleavage, which altogether (three were at least three of them) amounted to the difference between its weight and that of the Koh-i-nur as it was when brought from India, namely,

$$279 \frac{9}{16} \text{ Florentine carats} = 268 \frac{19}{50} \text{ English carats} - 186 \frac{1}{16} =$$

$$82 \frac{1}{3} \text{ carats,}$$

we at once arrive at a simple explanation of the cause of the difference in weight between the stones, and are, moreover, thus enabled to show that Tavernier's account requires no whittling down, though the stone itself, after he saw it, appears to have been subjected to that process.

This would be but an hypothesis based on the rumours above referred to, were it not so strongly corroborated by the appearance presented by the Koh-i-nur itself when taken by the British from the Treasury at Lahore. Mr. Tennant¹ describes it as exhibition, when brought to England, two large cleavage planes, one of which had not even been polished, and had been distinctly produced by fracture.

No one can examine the authentic sketches and models of the Koh-i-nur without feeling a strong presumption that it must have been mutilated, after cutting, and that it cannot have been left in such an incomplete condition by the jeweller who cut and polished it. In addition to its possessing defects similar to some of those described by Tavernier as having been in the Moghul's diamond, Mr. Tennant records that the Koh-i-nur had a flaw near the summit which, being on a line of cleavage parallel to the upper surface, may very possibly have been produced when the upper portion was removed—the weight of which, together with that of two portions removed from the sides, and the loss occasioned by the regrinding of

1. *Lecture on Gems and Precious Stones*, London 1852, p. 83.

four facets on the upper surface, may very easily have represented the difference in the weights of the two stones namely $82\frac{1}{3}$ carats.

This too, in a measure, explains the discrepancies between Tavernier's description, which, as Prof. Maskelyne¹ admits, very fairly characterises the Koh-i-nur (i.e. certain flaws and defects in it, which happened to be in the portion preserved), and the figure, which, as it represents the whole stone, does not, at first sight, seem to resemble the Koh-i-nur. The accompanying illustration (Plate VI) and descriptive notes prove not only the possibility of the Koh-i-nur having been thus carved out of the Moghul's diamond, but they represent graphically the extreme probability of the truth of that suggestion.

Tavernier's account of the Moghul's diamond has, I think, been fully proved in the preceding pages to be quite inapplicable to Babar's diamond, while all his facts and the balance of probability favour the view that in the Koh-i-nur we are justified in recognising the mutilated Moghul's diamond. Thus, while this theory, which has been built up on the basis of Tavernier's statements, is consistent with the literal acceptance of all of them, and with the physical condition of the Koh-i-nur when it came to Europe, of none of the other theories can the same be said; but, on the contrary, to suit their respective exigencies, they require the total rejection of one or more of the carefully recorded observations on the condition of the Moghul's stone when placed in the hands of this experienced jeweller for examination.²

The necessary conclusion is that it is not the Moghul's diamond which, through failure of being historically traced, as

1. Proceedings of the Royal Institution of Great Britain, March 1860.
2. Among other difficulties introduced into the subject are such as follow from misquotation. Thus Kluge says that Tavernier himself described the stone as weighing $319\frac{1}{2}$ ratis = 186 carats. For this unfortunate and mischievous error there can be no excuse, as he goes on to say quite correctly that the earlier weight was $793\frac{5}{8}$ carats. Handbuch der Edelsteinkunde, Leipsig, 1860, p. 341.

Plate VI.

THE MOGUL'S DIAMOND
(of Tavernier).

NAMED Koh-i-nur BY NADIR SHAH IN 1739.

Figures illustrating its mutilated condition when brought to England in 1850.

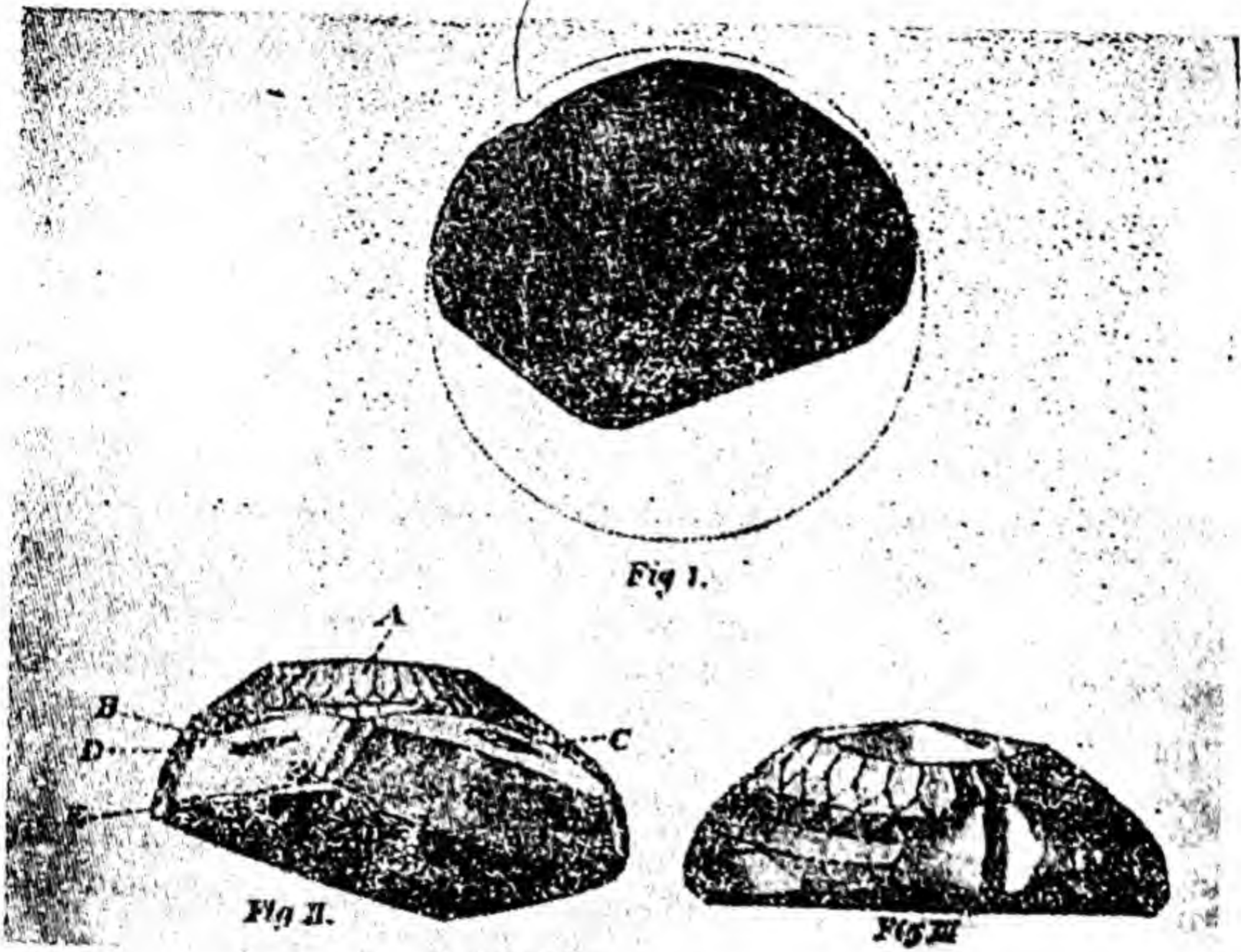


Fig. I. The circle is of the same diameter as the Mogul's Diamond, figured by Tavernier (see Book II, chap. xxii, Plate II). The shaded portion represents the basal surface of the Koh-i-nur.

Fig. II. The Koh-i-nur, showing the surfaces from whence portions had been removed by cleavage. A, Flaw parallel to cleavage plane H; B and C, Notches cut to hold the stone in its setting; D, Flaw parallel to plane G, Produced by fracture at E; F, Fracture produced by a blow; G. Unpolished cleavage plane produced by fracture it was inclined at an angle of $109^{\circ} 28'$ to the basal plane H. From Mr. Tennant's figure.

Fig. III. The opposite aspect of the Koh-i-nur from a glass model.

some authors assert, has disappeared, but it is Babar's diamond of the history of which we are really left in doubt. The fixing of the weight of Babar's diamond at a figure identical, or nearly so, with that of the Koh-i-nur when brought to England, though used as a link in the chain, has, as I think I have shown, effectively disposed of its claim to be identified with the Mogul's diamond in the first place, and secondly with the Koh-i-nur.

It has already been intimated that the Darya-i-nur, a flat stone, which weighs 186 carats, and is now in the Shah's treasury,¹ may very possibly be Babar's diamond, with regard to which I can only say that I have in vain sought for any well authenticated fact which in the slightest degree controverts or even throws doubt upon that suggestion.

2. Summary History of the Koh-i-nur.

This diamond, as related by Tavernier, was obtained in the mine of Kollur on the Kistna (see vol. ii, p.74). The precise date of its discovery is mere matter of conjecture; but about the year 1656 or 1657 it was presented, while still uncut, to Shah Jahan by Mir Jumla, who had previously farmed the mines at Kollur and elsewhere. The stone then weighed 900 ratis or $787\frac{1}{2}$ carats (these, if Florentine carats, were equal to about 756 English carats).

In the year 1665 this diamond was seen by Tavernier in Aurangzeb's treasury, and it then weighed, as ascertained by himself, only $319\frac{1}{2}$ ratis, or $279\frac{9}{16}$ carats (which, if Florentine carats, equalled $268\frac{19}{50}$ English carats). It had been reduced to this size by the wasteful grinding treatment to which it had been subjected by a Venetian named Hortensio Borgio.

In the year 1739 it was taken from Aurangzeb's feeble descendant, Muhammad Shah, by Nadir Shah, when he sacked Delhi and carried away to Persia, it is said, £70,000,000 or £80,000,000 worth of treasure.² On first beholding it he is

1. See Benjamin, *Persia*, p. 74.

2. According to the Imperial Gazetteer only £32,000,000. See Vol. vi, p. 314.

reported to have conferred upon it the title Koh-i-nur or Mountain of Light, a most suitable name for the stone described by Tavernier.

On the murder of Nadir Shah at Kelat, in Khorassan, in 1747, it passed with the throne to his grandson Shah Rukh, who resided at Meshed, where he was made a prisoner and cruelly tortured by Aga Muhammad (Mir Allum Khan), who in vain sought to obtain the Koh-i-nur from him. In the year 1751 Shah Rukh gave it, as a reward for his assistance, to Ahmad Shah, the founder of the Durani dynasty at Kabul, and by him it was bequeathed to his son Taimur, who went to reside at Kabul. From him, in 1793, it passed by descent to his eldest son Shah Zaman, who, when deposed by his brother Muhammad, and deprived of his eyes, still contrived to keep possession of the diamond in his prison, and two years afterwards it passed into the hands of his third brother Sultan Shuja. According to Elphinstone,¹ it was found secreted, together with some other jewels, in the walls of the cell which Shah Zaman had occupied. After Shuja's accession to the throne of Kabul, on the dethronement and imprisonment of Muhammad, he was visited at Peshawar by Elphinstone in 1809, who describes how he saw the diamond in a bracelet worn by Shuja, and he refers to it in a footnote as the diamond figured by Tavernier. Shuja was subsequently dethroned by his eldest brother Muhammad, who had escaped from the prison where he had been confined.

In 1812 the families of Zaman and Shuja went to Lahore, and Ranjit Singh, the ruler of the Punjab, promised the wife of the latter that he would release her husband and confer upon him the kingdom of Kashmir, for which service he expected to receive the Koh-i-nur.²

When Shah Shuja reached Lahore, soon afterwards, he was detained there by Ranjit, who wished to secure both his person and the diamond; but the Shah for a time evaded compliance with his demand for the stone, and refused offers of moderate sums of money for it. At length "the Maharaja

1. *Account of the Kingdom of Caubul*, vol. ii, p. 325 n.
2. Cunningham's, *History of the Sikhs*. London, 1849, p. 161.

visited the Shah in person, mutual friendship was declared, an exchange of turbans took place, the diamond was surrendered, and the Shah received the assignment of a jaghir in the Punjab for his maintenance, and a promise of aid in recovering Kabul."¹ This was in 1813: the Shah then escaped from Lahore to Rajauri, in the hills, and from thence to Ludhiana, after suffering great privations.² Here he and his brother Shah Zaman were well received by the Honourable East India Company, and a liberal pension was assigned by the Government for their maintenance. The above statements, except where other authorities are quoted, are taken from General Sleeman's³ account, which was founded on a narrative by Shah Zaman, the blind old king himself, who communicated it to General Smith, he being at the time in command of the troops at Ludhiana.

In the year 1839 Shah Shuja, under Lord Auckland's Government, was set up on the throne of Kabul by a British force, which two years later was annihilated during its retreat.

The testimony of all the writers up to this period, and, it is said, the opinions of the jewellers of Delhi and Kabul also, concur in the view that the diamond which Ranjit thus acquired was the Moghul's i.e. the one described by Tavernier. It seems probable that the mutilation and diminution in weight by about 83 carats, to which, as we have shown, it was subjected (see p. 442), took place while it was in the possession of Shah Rukh, Shah Zaman, or Shah Shuja, whose necessities may have caused one of them to have pieces removed to furnish him with money.

Ranjit during his lifetime often wore the diamond on state occasions, and it is referred to by many English visitors to Lahore, who saw it during this period,⁴ and is said to have then been dull and deficient in lust.

1. *Ibid*, p. 163. The Shah's own account (Autobiography, chap. xxv) of Ranjit's methods to get possession of the diamond is more favourable to the latter than Captain Murry's (See his *Ranjeet Singh*, p. 96.)
2. Dr. W.L. M'Gregor *History of the Sikhs*, London, 1847, vol. i, p. 170.
3. *Rambles and Recollections of An Indian Official*, vol. i, p. 473.
4. Dr. M'Gregor, *History of the Sikhs*, London, 1847, vol. i, p. 216.

In 1839 Ranjit died, and on his deathbed expressed a wish that the diamond, then valued at one million sterling should be sent to Juggannath,¹ but this intention was not carried out,² and the stone was placed in the Jewel chamber till the infant Raja Dhulip Singh was acknowledged as Ranjit's successor.

When the Punjab was annexed, in the year 1849, the diamond was formally handed to the new Board of Government.

In 1851 the Koh-i-nur was exhibited in the first great Exhibition, and in 1852 the recutting of the stone was entrusted by Her Majesty to Messrs. Garrards, who employed Voorsanger, a diamond cutter from M. Coster's atelier at Amsterdam. The actual cutting lasted thirty-eight days, and by it the weight was reduced to $106\frac{1}{16}$ carats. The cost of the cutting amounted to £ 8000.

3. On the Grand Duke of Tuscany's Diamond, otherwise known as the Austrian Yellow or the Florentine; and on the absolute weights of the carat and rati as known to Tavernier.

When writing of the carat (see vol. i, Appendix, p. 416), and when making the several references to the Grand Duke of Tuscany's diamond, I had not seen Dr. Schrauf's original paper³ on the weighment of the stone, and having obtained my information of it indirectly, I was misled as to its precise purport, which does not prove that the absolute weight of the stone is less than Tavernier gave it, but demonstrates that the difference in weight is only apparent. The absolute weight is 27.454 grams, which, converted into carats, gives

1. Lieut.-Colonel Steiubach, *The Punjab*, London, 1846, p. 16.
2. Miss Eden, *Up the country*, vol. ii, p. 130, says that the Maharaja ultimately consented to its not being sent.
3. Sitz. der K. Akad. der Wissen, Wien, Math.-Nat. Classe. Bd. liv. Abth. i. p. 479, 1866.

Florentine (=197.2 milligrams)	...	$139\frac{1}{5}$	carats.
Paris (=205.5 „)	...	$133\frac{3}{5}$	„
Vienna (=206.13 „)	...	$833\frac{3}{5}$	„

In English carats (=205.4 milligrams) the weight would be $133\frac{2}{3}$ carats nearly. The conclusions to be drawn, therefore, are, that, in the first place, the stone has not had any additional facets cut upon it, and that it is, in fact, in the same condition as when Tavernier gave its weight at $139\frac{1}{2}$ carats; the difference between that weight and the $139\frac{1}{5}$ Florentine carats is so small, amounting to only $\frac{3}{10}$ ths of a carat, that it may be fairly attributed to difference in the accuracy of the methods of weighment employed by Tavernier and Schrauf respectively.

Hence we may fairly conclude that in this instance, at least, the carat used by Tavernier was the "Florentine", and that being so, it is hardly conceivable that, when mentioning Indian stones on the very same pages as those where he describes the Grand Duke of Tuscany's diamond, he had other carats in view. Consequently, with greater confidence than I could venture to assume when the Appendix of vol. i. was written, I, now suggest the hypothesis that Tavernier's carats were the light Florentine carats, which are exactly 4 per cent lighter than modern English carats. Thus the English carat of .2054 grams less 4 cent (.0082)= .1972 grams, which is the precise value of the Florentine carat.

The conclusion thus arrived at as to the carat of Tavernier, having been the light Florentine, involves a reduction in the value of the rati, which has been calculated in the earlier part of this work on the supposition that it was

equal to $\frac{7}{8}$ ths of modern French and English carat. It must therefore be reduced by 4 per cent likewise, so that instead of 2.77 troy grs., it must stand at 2.66 troy grs. This value, it should be added, is identical with that derived from Tavernier's own statement, that 6 mescals or $181\frac{1}{8}$ ratis = 1 French ounce (i. e. 482.312 grs. troy), since $482.312 \div 181\frac{1}{8} = 2.66$. I am accordingly compelled to accept this value finally as being that of Tavernier's pearl rati; and I must ask readers to accept this conclusion, which was given as an alternative to 2.77, in the Appendix to vol. i,¹ instead of the latter, which was adopted in the text.

In the following table the weights in carats of the Principal stones mentioned by Tavernier are enumerated, and in the last column these weights, reduced by 4 per cent, show the equivalent values in English carats.

4. On the weights of some of the Diamonds, other Precious Stones, and pearls, mentioned and figured by Tavernier.

Assuming that our argument is well founded as to the carats mentioned in the text having been Florentine carats, it is necessary, in order to reduce them to English carats, to subtract 4 per cent from them, as in the following table:—

DIAMONDS

	<i>Tavernier's Carats (Florentine).</i>	<i>English Carats.</i>
1a. Great Moghul's (uncut)	$787\frac{1}{2}$	756
1b. Great Moghul's (cut)	$279\frac{9}{16}$	$268\frac{19}{50}$

1. See vol. i, pp. 416, 417 and 418.

	<i>Tavernier's Carats (Florentine).</i>	<i>English Carats.</i>
2. Golconda	$242\frac{1}{16}$	$232\frac{43}{50}$
3a. Ahmadabad (uncut)	$157\frac{1}{4}$	$150\frac{24}{25}$
3b. Ahmadabad (cut)	$94\frac{1}{2}$	$90\frac{18}{25}$
4. Grand Duke of Tuscany's	$\left(139\frac{1}{2}\right)139\frac{1}{5}$	$133\frac{16}{25}$
5. Blue	$112\frac{3}{16}$	$107\frac{7}{10}$
6. Bazu	104	$99\frac{21}{25}$
7. Mascarenha	$67\frac{1}{2}$	$64\frac{4}{5}$
8. Kollur	$63\frac{3}{8}$	$60\frac{21}{25}$

RUBIES

1. King of Persia's (192 ratis)	168	$161\frac{7}{25}$
2. Banian	$50\frac{3}{4}$	$48\frac{18}{25}$
3. Bijapur (Visapour)	$17\frac{1}{2}$	$16\frac{4}{5}$

TOPAZ

I. Aurangzeb's	157 should be $158\frac{1}{2}$	$152\frac{4}{25}$
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PEARL

I. American, sold to Shaista Khan ¹	55	$52\frac{4}{5}$
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DOCUMENT 4**THE HISTORY OF THE SIKHS**

Containing

**The Lives of the Gooroos; The History of the
Independent Sirdars, or Missuls, and the
Life of the Great Founder of the Sikh Monarchy,**

Maharajah Runjeet Singh

By

W.L. Mc'Gregor

Volume I

CHAPTER XIII

In 1812 Futteh Khan, with a view conquering Cashmere, which was governed by Atta Mohummud, the son of Shere Muhummud, left Peshawur and crossed the Attock; from thence, he sent an ambassador to the Maharajah, asking for his aid in the conquest of Cashmere. On this, the Maharajah collected a large army, containing numerous sirdars, and the chief command was bestowed on Mokhum Chund. This army was sent to aid Futteh Khan. Cashmere, was conquered, and Atta Mohummud driven out of the city. It is said that the wife of Shah Soojah-ool-Moolk, usually styled the Wufa Begum, offered Mokhum Chund the Koh-i-noor* if he would release her husband, who was then a prisoner to Atta Mohummud. The Dewan released the Shah, and took him back along with him to Lahore. When the brother of Atta Mohummud heard of the capture of Cashmere, he wrote a letter to the Maharajah requesting the province of Attock in Jagheer. On receiving this request, Azeezoodden was despatched to Attock, where he received Atta Mohummud's brother

1. Several other pearls of about this size and smaller were in the Moghul's Treasury, See vol. i, p. 397.

with great kindness and distinction, and put him in possession of Wuzeerabad. When Shah Soojah and his Begum reached Lahore, the Maharajah demanded the Koh-i-noor from the latter, but she refused to fulfil her promise, and the Maharajah imprisoned the Ex-King, and at length obtained it.



DOCUMENT 5

A HISTORY OF THE SIKHS

From

THE ORIGIN OF THE NATION TO THE

BATTLES OF THE SUTLEJ

By

JOSEPH DAVEY CUNNINGHAM

CHAPTER VI

FROM THE SUPREMACY OF RANJIT SINGH TO THE REDUCTION OF MULTAN, KASHMIR, AND PESHAWAR.

In the following year the families of the two Ex-kings took up their abode at Lahore, and as the Maharaja was preparing to bring the hill chiefs south of Kashmir under his power, with a view to the reduction of the valley itself, and as he always endeavoured to make success more complete or more easy by appearing to labour in the cause of others, he professed to the wife of Shah Shuja that he would release her husband and replace Kashmir under the Shah's sway; but he hoped the gratitude of the distressed lady would make the great diamond, Koh-i-nur, the reward of his chivalrous labours when they should be crowned with success. His principal

object was doubtless the possession of the Shah's person, and when, after his preliminary success against the hill chiefs, including the capture of Jammu by his newly married son, Kharak Singh, he heard, towards the end of 1812, that Fateh Khan the Kabul Wazir had crossed the Indus with the design of marching against Kashmir, he sought an interview with him, and said he would assist in bringing to punishment both the rebel, who detained the king's brother, and likewise the Governor of Multan, who had refused obedience to Mahmud.

Ranjit Singh was equally desirous of detaining Shah Shuja in Lahore, and of securing the great diamond which had adorned the throne of the Mughals. The king evaded a compliance with all demands for a time, and rejected even the actual offer of moderate sums of money; but at last the Maharaja visited the Shah in person, mutual friendship was declared, an exchange of turbans took place, the diamond was surrendered, and the king received the assignment of a jagir in the Punjab for his maintenance, and a promise of aid in recovering Kabul.

This Mir Abdul Hassan had originally informed the Sikh chief of the safety of the Koh-i-nur and other valuables, he plotted when in Lahore to make it appear the king was in league with the Governor of Kashmir, and he finally threw difficulties in the way of the escape of his master's family from the Sikh capital. The flight of the Begums to Ludhiana was at last effected in December 1814; for Shah Shuja perceived the design of the Maharaja to detain him a prisoner, and to make use of his name for purposes of his own. A few months afterwards the Shah himself escaped to hills; he was joined by some Sikhs discontented with Ranjit Singh, and he was aided by the chief of Kishtwar in an attack upon Kashmir.

DOCUMENT 6

The Life of the Marquis of Dalhousie, Lee-Warner Vol. I.

In 1813 he wrested Attock from the Afghans, and exorted from his political refugee, Shah Shuja, the famous diamond, the Koh-i-Nur, which Nadir Shah had carried away in 1739 from Babar's successors at Delhi. The several petty States in the Punjab were rapidly annexed by force or intrigue, and Multan, Kashmir, and Peshawar were added to the Sikh kingdom.

The famous Koh-i-Nur diamond was confiscated with other State property by Lord Dalhousie in consideration of the facts that the Lahore State owed to the Company fifty-three lakhs of rupees, and that it was responsible for the enormous cost of the war which had just been brought to a close. In this argument the East India Company concurred, urging, however, that as a logical inference the jewel became their property. The Governor-General thought differently, and his views are thus set forth in his diary :—

The Koh-i-Nur had ever been the symbol of conquest. The Emperor of Delhi had it in his Peacock Throne. Nadir Shah seized it by right of conquest from the Emperor. Thence it passed into the hands of the King of Kabul. While Shah Shujaul-Mulk was king, Ranjit Singh exorted the diamond by gross violence and cruelty. And now when, as the result of unprovoked war, the British Government has conquered the kingdom of the Punjab, and has resolved to add it to the territories of the British Empire in India, I have a right to compel the Maharaja of Lahore, in token of his submission, to surrender the jewel to the Queen, that it may find its final and fitting resting-place in the crown of Britain. And there it shall shine, and shine, too, with purest ray serene. For there is not one of those who have held it since its original possessor, who can boast so just a title to its possession as the Queen of England can claim after two bloody and unprovoked wars.

*Note:—*Since these pages were written a vindication of Lord Gough's strategy has appeared under the title of *The Life and*

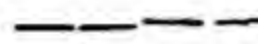
Campaigns of Hugh 1st Viscount Gough by Robert S. Rait. Those who desire to study both sides of the question will do well to consult this work.

On some of these occasions Lady Dalhousie accompanied her husband, and she made a point of inspecting with him the jewels in the *toshakahana*¹ received from time to time in return for presents with which it was customary for the Government to honour natives of rank. Among such jewels the Koh-i-Nur naturally attracted most attention. As then seen, it was a rose-cut diamond set in an armlet between two other large diamonds, with a slight garniture of enamel. It was worn fastened round the arm by crimson silk strings, each of which ended in a tassel of pearls. Numerous other gems, the Sea of Light (a table-cut diamond), a small cup made of single emerald, and two strings of pearls, matchless in size and beauty, were hardly less conspicuous than the Mountain of Light. The value of the collection was estimated at £350,000.

Almost the last act of Lord Dalhousie in Bombay was to entrust the Koh-i-Nur diamond to Colonel Mackeson and Captain Ramsay for conveyance to England on board H.M. ship *Medea*, as a present from the Court of Directors to Her Majesty the Queen. He had received the jewel at Lahore on the 7th December and had given to Dr. Login a formal receipt witnessed by the two Lawrences, Mansel, and Elliot. The tassels of the armlet in which the diamond was set had been cut off, to diminish the bulk, and Lady Dalhousie had enclosed the armlet with its jewel in a leather bag, this again being sewed into a Kashmir belt lined with chamois leather which he wore by day and night. Two dogs, Baron and Banda, were chained to the Governor-General's camp-bed, and, so far as he knew, no one but his wife and Captain Ramsay was in the secret of the jewels concealment. On setting out for his ride to Dera Ghazi Khan through the wild country that had to be traversed, he thought it wiser to leave the belt in that Officer's charge; but this was the only occasion on which it had quitted his arrival in Bombay it was a relief to him to make over

1. A office in which presents received are deposited, and those to be given kept in store.

custody of the precious burden. Whether his elaborate precautions were dictated by knowledge of the risks which the stone had run while in the hands of John Lawrence, is a question that will naturally occur to the reader of Bosworth Smith's interesting *Life of Lawrence*, but upon this the accounts now before me throw no light.



DOCUMENT 7

LAHORE : Its History, Architectural Remains and Antiquities with an account of its Modern Institutions, Inhabitants, Their Trade, Customs, sc.

By

SYAD MUHAMMAD LATIF, KHAN BAHADUR, EXTRA JUDICIAL ASSISTANT COMMISSIONER, GURDASPUR, FELLOW, PUNJAB UNIVERSITY AND MEMBER OF THE BENGAL ASIATIC SOCIETY—1892.

THE HISTORY OF THE KOH-I-NUR DIAMOND

In the hall containing the specimens of Arts and Manufactures of the Province, to the left of the Museum, is a glass model of the matchless diamond, the *Koh-i-Nur*, or "Mountain of Light, which once graced the sceptre of the Moghals and the Sikhs. It is the well known jewel that adorned the arm of Maharaja Ranjit Singh, and was exhibited by Messrs. Osler in the Great Hyde Park Exhibition of 1851. The model was subsequently presented by the makers to the Punjab Exhibition.

The History of this famous, diamond, is lost in fiction. According to Hindu legends, it belonged to Karna, king of Anga, one of the heroes of the Mahabharat who flourished about 3000 years B.C. According to the Persians, it, with the sister diamond, the *Darya-i-Nur*, or "ocean of light" was worn by their king Afrasiab. The *Darya-i-Nur* a flat stone, weighing 186 carats, is now in Teheran, in the treasury of the Shah

of Persia, which contains the finest gems in the world.* The *Koh-i-Nur*, after a long period of obscurity, is reported to have become the property of Bikramajit, a Hindu Raja of Gwalior, who, having been called to service by Sultan Ibrahim, Lodi, in the battle of Panipat, fought and fell heroically by the side of the Sultan in that memorable battle (1526 A.D.). The family of the late Raja and the heads of his clan were at that time at Agra, holding the city in the name of Ibrahim. Humayun, who, after the victory, had been sent forward to Agra to occupy that city, out of elemency, prevented the ancient family from being plundered and behaved generously towards them. They, in return, showed their gratitude by presenting, of their own accord, a quantity of jewels and precious stones. "Among them", writes Sultan Babar, "was one famous diamond which had been acquired by Sultan Ala-ud-din." "It is so valuable," adds the Emperor, "that a judge of diamonds valued it at half of the daily expense of the world. It weighs about eight *miskals* (or 320 *rattis*). On my arrival here, Humayun presented it to me as a *Peshkash*, and I gave it back to him as a present."**

It would thus appear that, when the diamond was made over by the family of Raja Bikramajit to Humayun, it had already a recorded history, having in that year, 1304, been acquired by Sultan Ala-ud-din, *Khiljai*, from *the Raja of Malwa*. How it passed again from its Muhammadan possessors to the *Hindu kings of Gwalior*, is not clear; but we have the authority of Babar, an acute observer, to establish the identity of the diamond acquired by his son with that which nearly two centuries before, had been won by the *Khiljai* sovereign from its Hindu owners.

A diamond, called "matchless" by Bernier had been presented to Shah Jahan by Mir Jumla, the minister of Abdulla Kutb Shah, of Golkonda, originally a diamond merchant, who had been won over by Shah Jahan. The Mir

* *Oriental Memairs* by James Forbes, 1834, Vol. II, p. 175; Benjamin's *Persia*, p. 74.

** *Erskine's Memoirs of Babar*, p. 308.

made the present on receiving the command of an army for the conquest of Golkonda, in 1656 or 1657.†

Aurangzeb showed his State jewels to Tavernier, the French merchant and jeweller, in 1665, and the traveller saw among these the diamond which, as ascertained by him, weighed then $319\frac{1}{2}$ rattis ($279\frac{9}{16}$ carats).* This diamond Tavernier calls "the great Moghal diamond," and there is no doubt that it is identical with Bernier's diamond, styled "Matchless," and Babar's diamond, mentioned in the Tazkar-i-Babari, the weight, as found by Tavernier, coinciding exactly with that recorded by Babar. Tavernier writes, "the Great Moghal diamond weighs $279\frac{9}{16}$ carats, is of purest water, good form, and has only a small flaw which is in the edge of the basal circumstance of the stone." The value he estimates at 11,723, 278 livres, which is equivalent to £879, 245-18-1 $\frac{1}{2}$.**

† Elphinstone's *History of India*, pp. 357 and 373.

* The traveller writes: "This diamond belongs to the great Moghal who did me the honour to have it shown to me with all his other jewels, and I was allowed to weigh it. When in the rough it weighed 907 rattis or $793\frac{5}{8}$ carats." *Travernier's Travels*, p. 123.

** *Travernier's Travels*, p. 97.—Erskine, Professor Maskelyne and General Cunningham, are all agreed that the "great Moghal diamond" of Travernier was the same as Babar's diamond. In a long article, written by M. V. Ball as Appendix I to his admirable translation of *Travernier's Travels*, that writer has attempted to throw doubt on this identity, on his ground, chiefly, that the rattis of Babar's time were different from the rattis of the time of Shah Jahan or Aurangzeb. But ratti (the seed of *arbus precatorius*), being the product of India, and having been in use as a measure of weight from the time of the Hindus. I don't think there could ever have been any mistake as to its weight, known throughout India as equal to eight barley-corns. No greater praise was ever concurrently bestowed on any other diamond in the world by writers of different nationalities at different periods of history and the weights, subsequent to mutilation, of "Babar's diamond," and "the great Moghal diamond," agree so exactly that any attempt at confusing the peerless diamond with others must be regarded as an act of gross injustice to the fame which it has worthily won for

When, in 1739, Nadir Shah sacked Delhi and wrested from Muhammed Shah, the feeble descendant of Aurangzeb, his crown jewels, he saw among them the famous diamond on which he conferred the title *Koh-i-Nur*, the most appropriate name for the diamond described by Babar and Tavernier. This was the first time in its history that the diamond came to be called by a special designation. @

On the murder of Nadir Shah at Fattehabad, in Khorasan, in 1747, the diamond passed with the throne to his nephew, Ali Kuli Khan, *alias* 'Ali Shah, who, in the words of Sir William Jones, "eager to possess the treasures of his uncle and painting for the delights of a throne," had caused his assassi-

rivalled splendour among the diamonds known to the civilized world. It is useless puzzling the reader with a dozen names of other celebrated diamonds of the world, such as the Duke of Tuscany's diamond, otherwise, known as the Austrian Yellow, or the Florentine, weighing nearly $133 \frac{4}{5}$ carats, or the Emperor of Russia's diamond (which was originally the eye of an idol at Seringham), or the *Darya-i-Nur*, now in the Royal Treasury of Ispahan. All are admittedly of much smaller weight than the Koh-i-Nur, even in its mutilated condition, and of inferior lustre.

The link is wanting to show how the diamond passed from the hands of the Moghals to Mir Jumla; but it is probable that the confusion that followed Humayun's disastrous flight to Persia, had greatly to do with it, and we see it possessed by a man who, before figuring prominently in the politics of the Deccan, was well known in India, in those times as a dealer in diamonds.

Tavernier-admits that it was found in the mines of Kolhur in Golkonda; but he is evidently misinformed when he says that the mine had been opened only one hundred years previously. Tavernier, though one of the best authorities on the subject of jewels, was no good geographer, and possessed little knowledge of the language of the country, which compelled him to engage the services of interpreters. Mr. Ball's description of his weak points as a traveller is vivid, but nevertheless he is admitted on all hands to be an excellent judge of jewels, and his statement as to weight, lustre, surpassing beauty, and size of the great diamond is of much significance.

@ There is no truth in the story told by Bosworth Smith (the Biographer of Lord Lawrence) and others, representing Nadir Shah, as having changed turbans with Muhammad Shah having taken the diamond along with the turban.

nation. 'Ali Shah having been blinded and deposed, the diamond came into the possession of his successor, Shah Rukh Mirza, grandson of Nadir Shah, who retired to his castle at Meshed. There he was made prisoner by Agha Muhammed, who in vain, tortured him to induce him to surrender the invaluable diamond. Shah Rukh, in 1751, bestowed it on Ahmad Shah Durrani, as a reward for his services. On Ahmad Shah's death, it was inherited by his son and successor, Tymur Shah, who dying in 1793, it passed, with the crown jewels, to his eldest son, Shah Zaman. The latter was subsequently blinded and deposed by his brother, Shah Mahmud, but he contrived to retain the diamond in his custody until finally it came into the possession of his third brother, Shah Shuja. According to Elphinstone, it had been found concealed, with other jewels in a wall of the cell which Shah Zaman had occupied in his confinement. When Mr. Elphinston met Shah Shuja at Peshawar, he saw it in a bracelet worn by the Shah on his arm, and he alludes to it as a diamond figured by Tavernier.

In March, 1813, Shah Shuja came to Lahore with his principle wife, Wafa Begam, Half-guest and half prisoner of Ranjit Singh, that greedy monarch, with whom, in advanced years the hoarding of treasures had become almost a passion,* compelled him to surrender the Koh-i-Nur, on a promise to pay three lakhs of rupees in cash and grant of a *jagir* of Rs. 50,000 per annum, with a promise of aid in recovering Cabul. The touching incident which led to the surrender of

* The treasure hoarded by Ranjit Singh amounted at his death to about eight crores of rupees in cash, or the same number of millions of pound sterling, with jewels, shawls, horses, elephants, c., to the amount of several millions more.—Vide *An Account of the Country of the Sikhs* by Lieutenant Colonel Steinbach, p. 16, London, 1846.

* The means adopted by the one-eyed monarch for the accomplishment of his design were infamous to a degree that has stained the most selfish and avaricious sovereign known to Eastern history. For two days the Shah's family were deprived of all nourishment, and His Majesty, with his wife and children, suffered absolute deprivation. See Murray's *Life of Maharaja Ranjit Singh*, compiled by Henry T. Prinsep, pp. 96 and 97, Calcutta, 1834.

the diamond by Shah Shuja to the Sikh ruler, is thus described by persons who were eye-witnesses to the scene.—

On the 1st of June, 1813, the Maharaja sent Faqir Azizuddin, Bhai Gurmakh Singh and Jamadar Khoshal Singh to Shah Shuja, to demand the diamond. The Shah returned for answer that the Maharaja should come to take the diamond himself. Ranjit Singh, on hearing this, cheerfully mounted his horse, and, escorted by troops on the right and left, and taking with him a sum of Rs. 1,000 in cash, repaired to Mubarak Haveli, the Shah's residence. His Afghan Majesty received the Maharaja with great dignity. Both being then seated, a solemn pause ensued, which lasted nearly an hour. At length the patience of Ranjit Singh being exhausted, he whispered in the ear of one of his attendants, reminded the Shah of the object of the meeting. The Shah returned no answer, but made a signal with his eye to one of his servants, who retired, and, after a while, brought in a small roll which he placed on the carpet at an equal distance between the two chiefs. Mutual friendship was declared, and an exchange of turbans took place, as a token of perpetual amity between the two.* The roll being then unfolded, Ranjit recognised the diamond and asked the Shah its price. The vexed Shah replied, "*Its price is Lathi (heavy stick)*. My forefathers obtained it by this means; you have obtained it from me by many blows; after you a stronger power will appear and deprive you of it using similar means." The Maharaja was not upset by these remarks, but quietly put the diamond into his pocket and forthwith retired with his prize.

On returning to his palace, the Maharaja held a grand Darbar, and the city was illuminated in honor of the occasion, but not a lamp was lit in Mubarak Haveli, the gloomy residence of the exiled and unfortunate Shah Shuja. The promise made by Ranjit Singh to the Shah, it need hardly be said, was never fulfilled.

Ranjit Singh had the diamond set between two large dia-

* See the Autobiography of Shah Shuja, Chapter 25. The Shah's account of the method of extorting the diamond is more favourable than Captain Murray's account.

monds about half its size. He wore it on State occasions and it is referred to by many European visitors to Lahore as the most brilliant and handsome in the world.*

Two hours before his death, Ranjit Singh sent for all his jewels, and among other bequests, he with a view to securing peace in the next world, directed that the *Koh-i-Nur* be sent to the temple of Jagannath, in the south of Bengal, to adorn the idol of that name, and expressed his readiness to throw water on it with his own hands as a sign of bequest, but Missar Beli Ram, who was in charge of the *Toshakhana*, or Royal Wardrobe, refused to deliver up the diamond, on the ground that it was the property of the Crown, and must descend with it to the rightful heir.

When, after the death of Kharak Singh and Naunehal Singh, the pretensions of Mai Chand Kaur, widow of the former, having been set aside, Sher Singh was declared sovereign of the Punjab, Gulab Singh went to pay his respects to the new Maharaja, "to whom, with his own hand, he delivered, as a token of homage and as a proprietary gift, the great diamond called the *Koh-i-Nur*, which he had contrived to secure."**

On the conquest of the Punjab by the British, and the abdication of Maharaja Dalip Singh in 1849, the diamond was formally made over to the Board of Administration for the affairs of the Punjab, at one of its earliest meetings, and by it committed to the personal care of Sir (afterwards Lord) John Lawrence. A strange incident now occurred in the history of

* The Honourable H.W.G. Osborne, Military Secretary, to the Earl of Auckland, Governor-General of India, who had been sent with a friendly mission to Lahore in 1838, writes of it :—"After half an hour's gossip (with Ranjit Singh) on the various subjects, I put him in mind of his promise to show me the great Koh-i-Nur, which he immediately sent for. It is certainly a most magnificent diamond, about an inch and a half in length, and upwards of an inch in width, and stands out from the setting, about half, an inch; it is in the shape of an egg, and is set in a bracelet between two very handsome diamonds of about half its size. It is valued at about three millions sterling, is very brilliant and without a flaw of any kind.—*Court and Camp of Ranjit Singh*, p. 202.

** Smyth's *History of the Reigning Family of Lahore*, p. 63.

the diamond, which has been graphically described by Bosworth Smith, in his *Life of Lord Lawrence*. Indifferent to the conventionalities of life, and one who never cared to wear the jewels (the orders and clasps) that he had won, and, when pressed in this particular, put them in the wrong place, Sir John was not a likely man to take any very great care of the jewel that had been entrusted to him by his colleagues of the Board. Anyhow, half-unconsciously, he thrust the small tin-box which contained the diamond into his waist-coat pocket, and then forgot all about it. He changed his clothes and threw the waistcoat aside, quite forgetful of the inestimable treasure it contained. About six weeks later, a message came from Lord Dalhousie, saying that the diamond was to be sent to Her Majesty the Queen. Recalling the circumstance to his mind, Sir John hurried home, and "with his heart in his mouth, sent for his old bearer, and said to him: "Have you got a small box which was in my waist-coat pocket some time ago"? 'Yes, *Sahib!*, 'the man replied: "Dibia (the native word for it), I found it and put it more of your boxes.' Upon this, the old native went to a broken down tin-box and produced the little one from it. 'Open it,' said John Lawrence, 'and see what is inside.' He watched the man anxiously enough, as, fold after fold of the small rags was taken off, and great was his relief when the precious gem appeared. The bearer seemed perfectly unconscious of the treasure which he had in his keeping. 'There is nothing here, *Sahib!*', he said: 'but a a bit of glass.'*

Mr. Bosworth Smith was told on good authority that the jewel had passed through one or two other striking vicissitudes before it was safely lodged in the British Crown.

The Governor-General, the Marquis of Dalhousie, took the diamond to Bombay in 1850, and entrusted it to Lieutenant Colonel Mackeson, C.B., and Captain Ramsay, who sailed with it to Europe. They handed it over to the Board of Directors; and, on 3rd July, 1850, it was formally presented to Her Majesty the Queen by the Deputy Chairman of the East India Company. The gem, as already noted, was exhibited at the first Great Exhibition in London, in 1851. In 1852, it was

* *Life of Lord Lawrence*, pp. 285-6.

re-cut in London, at a cost of £8,000, by Messrs. Garrad, who employed Voorsanger, a diamond-cutter, from M. Coster's atelier at Amsterdam. The actual, cutting lasted thirty-eight days and reduced the diamond to $106\frac{1}{16}$ carats.

From the account previously given, it is manifest that the diamond was ignominiously acquired by Ranjit Singh, Shah Shuja, a vanquished king of a foreign neighbouring country, had repaired to the Sikh Court, a refugee, and was received as a guest. According to the custom of Eastern countries, established from time immemorial, he was entitled to protection and assistance and the rendering of such assistance would have been an honour to the king whose support had been implored. But it was reserved for Ranjit Singh to violate international law, and set aside time-honoured custom. He robbed and ill-treated, he starved and insulted, his innocent guest, who had put faith in him, and, by depriving him of the diamond, tarnished his name as a guest-robber.

But Providence had reserved the great diamond for the ultimate possession of the British Crown. Nothing could, therefore, be more than appropriate that it should be taken from its plunderer, and his successors, and as the property of the Crown (having formed the most shining gem of the crown of the Great Moghal), should be restored to the rightful Ruler of the Land. Its possession by the Crown of Great Britain in no way adds to the lustre of the British Empire in Hindustan, whose glories, most important by far, are the triumphs of peace of law, and settled order, nor does it detract any thing from that lustre; but the chief glory of the imperial diamond lies in the fact that it is worn by the Lady Queen whose equal in virtue, piety and generosity, the world has not seen and whose ear is open to the complaint of the humblest of her subjects. Neither in the magnificent Peacock Throne of the Great Moghal, nor in the glittering uplifted sword of the Afghan, or the flashing armlet of the Durrani or the Sikh, did the ancient gem shine more fittingly than it does in the Crown of the Great Queen, Empress of India.

DOCUMENT 8

Extracts taken from "Annexation of the Punjab and the Maharajah Duleep Singh" by M.E. Bell.

APPENDIX

(B). THE TIMES, THURSDAY, AUGUST 31, 1882. "THE CLAIMS OF AN INDIAN PRINCE" TO THE EDITOR OF THE TIMES.

"Had, at that time, (This refers to the first Anglo-Sikh war 1845-46) my dominions been annexed to the British territories, I would have now not a word to say, for I was at that time an independent Chief at the head of an independent people, and any penalty which might have been then inflicted would have been perfectly just, but that kind, true English gentleman, the late Lord Hardinge, in consideration of the friendship which had existed between the British Empire and the 'Lion of the Punjab', replaced me on my throne, and the diamond Koh-i-noor on my arm, at one of the Durbars.

THE TIMES, THURSDAY, AUGUST 31, 1882

.....By subsequent clauses of the same instrument 'all the property of the State, of whatever description and wheresoever found', was confiscated to the East India Company; the Koh-i-noor was surrendered to the Queen of England; a pension of not less than four, and not exceeding five lakhs of rupees was secured to the Maharajah 'for the support of himself, his relatives, and the servants of the State, and the Company undertook to treat the Maharajah with respect and honour, and to allow him to retain the title of 'Maharajah Duleep Singh, Bahadoor'.

POSTSCRIPT

ANNEXATION OF THE PUNJAB

The writer of the article in the Times raises the question of the Maharajah's private and personal estate. Misapprehending once more, as it seems to me, the true bearings of his own

argument, he says that "there is no mention of private property in the terms of settlement accepted by the Maharajah." Exactly,—“all the property of the State” is mentioned, and is “confiscated” the Koh-i-noor is mentioned, and “is surrendered” if it had been intended to exact any more private property, real or personal, it ought to have been mentioned in the terms of settlement. But “there is no mention of private property”.

Without a careful examination of public records, the details of the real and personal property, to which the Maharajah had succeeded, and which was in the custody of his Guardian when the Terms were signed, and its disposal after the annexation, cannot be traced.

The Maharajah Duleep Singh asserts in his letters to the Times, that although his private property is not confiscated under “the Terms”, he has been prevented from receiving the details of the landed estates to which he had succeeded, which belonged to his family before his father attained to Sovereignty and which were in his possession under British Guardianship in 1849.* He also states that although, under the “Terms, of 1849, the personal property which he had inherited, and which was in his possession, under British Guardianship, is not confiscated, his jewels and plate, valued at about £ 250,000, were actually seized in the Palace at Lahore, and given as *prize-money* to our troops.

There certainly is not, as the writer in the Times observes, any mention of private property in the “Terms”. There is, therefore, no confiscation of private property. “All property of the State, of whatever description,” having been confiscated by Article II, the Maharajah, under Article III, personally “surrendered” to the Queen of England “the gem called the Koh-i-noor.” It is not confiscated, but is given, by the Maharajah personally, to the Queen in person. If this gem had been the “property of the State” it would have been confiscated under Article II.

In 1849, besides the Koh-i-noor, the Maharajah Duleep

* Ante, pp. 95, 101, 102.

** Ante, pp. 93, 95, 101.

Singh was in possession of many other gems, which he did not "surrender". The Koh-i-noor was one article in a large collection of jewels, valued, without that unrivalled gem, at something like £ 250,000. The contents of the jewel-room were not State property, or they would, including the Koh-i-noor, have been confiscated under Article II. They were not surrendered by the Maharajah Duleep Singh, but they were seized by the Government of India.

If the Maharajah's personal assent of authority was required for the surrender and assignment of the Koh-i-noor, it must have been also required for the assignment of the remaining jewels and personal property. But no such assent or authority was given. Therefore the appropriation of the Maharajah's personal property by Lord Dalhousie was entirely unauthorised and unwarrantable.

The fact that the contents of the jewel-room were known to be the Maharajah's private property and not State property, is furthermore proved by Lord Dalhousie having taken upon himself, in the arbitrary process of distribution, to allow the Maharajah Duleep Singh to retain about a twelfth part of the Palace jewels, valued at about £20,000, for his own use.* These jewels were certainly not presented to His Highness as a gift; they were simply left in his possession.

What, then, became of the rest of the jewels which were taken out of his possession? It is understood that they were thrown *into a Prize Fund for the troops engaged in the Punjab campaign*. If so, it was a flagrant malversation of property; for, whether considered as public or private, the contents of the Palace jewel-room could not possibly come under the head of lawful Prize. The Prize or booty of an army is property taken from an enemy in some operation of war, as on the field of battle, or in the storm of a town. There was no fighting in or near the city of Lahore. The Maharajah Duleep Singh was not an enemy. He was the Ally and Ward of the British Government, and was so proclaimed and upheld throughout

* Ante, p. 95.

the rebellion. His Palace, his possessions, and his person had been for three years in charge of the British Resident at Lahore, and so continued until the date of the "Terms" of 1849.

If these things be so, it would certainly seem that over and above and beyond the demands avowed in the terms of 1849, Lord Dalhousie, immediately after their conclusion, enforced certain exactions at the expense and to the detriment of the Maharajah Duleep Singh, which were not imposed or sanctioned by those Terms.

If these things be so, whatever might have been his position, had he and his advisers been exposed to the "mercy" of Lord Dalhousie by any want of "alacrity" in signing the Terms of 1849,* the Maharajah Duleep Singh, appealing to these Terms, is in the position of a person with whom a bargain was made, and from whom much more than the proper proceeds of that bargain have been extorted. And his position, on legal and moral principles, is not weaker but stronger, because, at the time of the bargain being made, he was an infant and the weaker party, nor because the stronger party, at the time of the bargain being made, and for several subsequent years, was the infant's Guardian and Trustee.

*Ante, p. 101.

PART D

1. Chamber's Encyclopaedia Vol. IV, Page 497
2. Chamber's Encyclopaedia Vol. XII, Page 551
3. Encyclopaedia Britannica Vol. V, Page 869
4. English Regalia, Page 41
5. English Regalia, Page 75
6. Photo of Crown of Queen Mother and the Koh-i-Noor

DOCUMENT 1

Chamber's Encyclopaedia
Vol. IV, page 497

Other fields have also yielded large stones though smaller than the above. The 'Star of the South' from Brazil, weighing 261.88 carats, was cut into a brilliant of 128.8 carats. India has furnished several diamonds round which history or traditions have gathered. The Koh-i-noor, known since 1304,

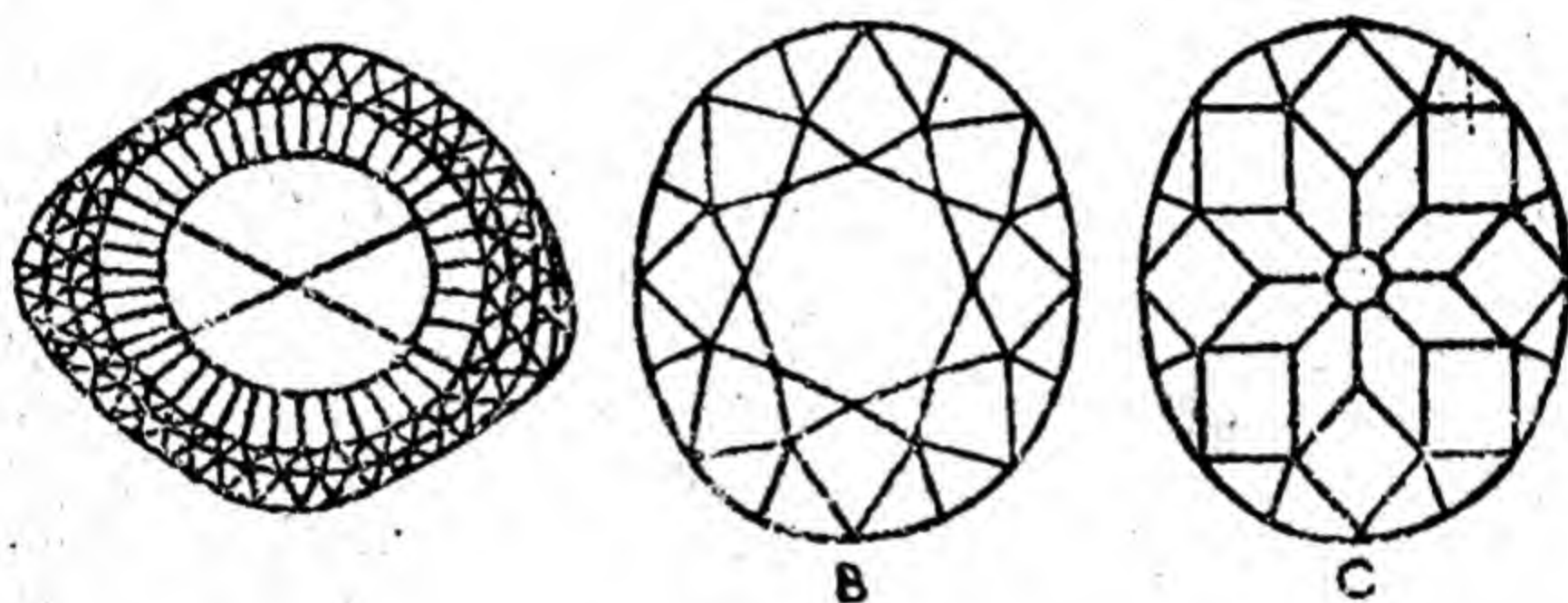


Fig. 1.—The Koh-i-noor diamond, half nature size: A, front view before recutting; B, front view after recutting; C, back view after recutting.

whose original weight is stated as 793 old carats, was cut unskillfully to a stone of 186 old carats (191 metric carats). In 1849 it came into the possession of the East India Company and was presented to the British crown in 1850. Further cut in 1852 to 108.9 metric carats, it is still not a perfect brilliant shape.

DOCUMENT 2**Chamber's Encyclopaedia****Vol. XII page 551**

Second Sikh War (1848-49). The troops of Diwan Mulraj, governor of Multan, murdered two British officers, Anderson and Vans Agnew in April 1848. He instigated his people to attack the British and proclaimed the Holy war. General Whish laid siege to Multan in August but had to retire owing to the defection of some of his Sikh auxiliaries. The Sikh Army forced Lord Dalhousie, the governor-general, to declare war much against his will.

General Gough crossed the Ravi in November 1848 with 12,000 men and 66 guns. It was vital for him to bring the Sikhs to battle before they could be reinforced by the Afghans under Dost Mohammed. Gough attacked the Sikhs; 30,000 strong with 62 guns, on 13 Jan. 1849 at Chilianwala but again his tactics were faulty. After desperate fighting, both sides lost some guns and withdrew exhausted from the field. The British infantry fought magnificently. The 24th Regiment (South Wales Borderers) lost 525 officers and men. Gough, having been reinforced, renewed the attack on 21 February, at Gujarat where the Sikhs suffered an overwhelming defeat. After the fall of Multan on 23 January, Governor Mulraj and his accomplices were taken prisoner and brought to trial. The Punjab was annexed on 29 Mar. 1849, one of the conditions imposed on the Sikhs being the surrender of the Koh-i-noor diamond to Queen Victoria. A.G.A.

DOCUMENT 3**Encyclopaedia Britannica****Vol. V, page 869**

Koh-i-noor, the diamond with the longest history for an extant stone, though its early history is controversial. Originally a lumpy Mughal-cut stone that lacked fire and weighed 191 carats, it was recut to enhance its fire and brilliancy to a 109-carat, shallow, oval brilliant in 1852 at Garrards of London, with indifferent results.

According to some experts, Sultan 'Ala'-ud-Din Khalji is credited with having taken the jewel in 1304 from the Raja of Malwa, India, whose family had owned it for many generations. Other writers have identified the Koh-i-noor (meaning "mountain of light") with the diamond given to the son of Babur, the founder of the Mughal dynasty in India, by the Raja of Gwalior after the battle of Panipat in 1526. Still others have contended that it came originally from the Kollur mine of the Krishna River and was presented to the Mughal emperor Shah Jahan in 1656. Some claim that the stone was cut from the Great Mogul diamond described by the French jewel trader Jean-Baptiste Tavernier in 1665, but the Koh-i-noor's original lack of fire and shape make that unlikely.

In any case, it most likely formed part of the loot of Nader Shah of Iran when he sacked Delhi in 1739. After his death it fell into the hands of his general, Ahmad Shah, founder of the Durrani dynasty of Afghans. His descendant Shah Shoja, when a fugitive in India, was forced to surrender the stone to Ranjit Singh the Sikh ruler. On the annexation of the Punjab in 1849, the Koh-i-noor was acquired by the British and was placed among the crown Jewels of Queen Victoria. It was incorporated as the central stone in the queen's state crown fashioned for use by Queen Elizabeth, consort of George VI, at her coronation in 1937.

DOCUMENT 4

The English Regalia, Page 41

THE HISTORY OF THE REGALIA

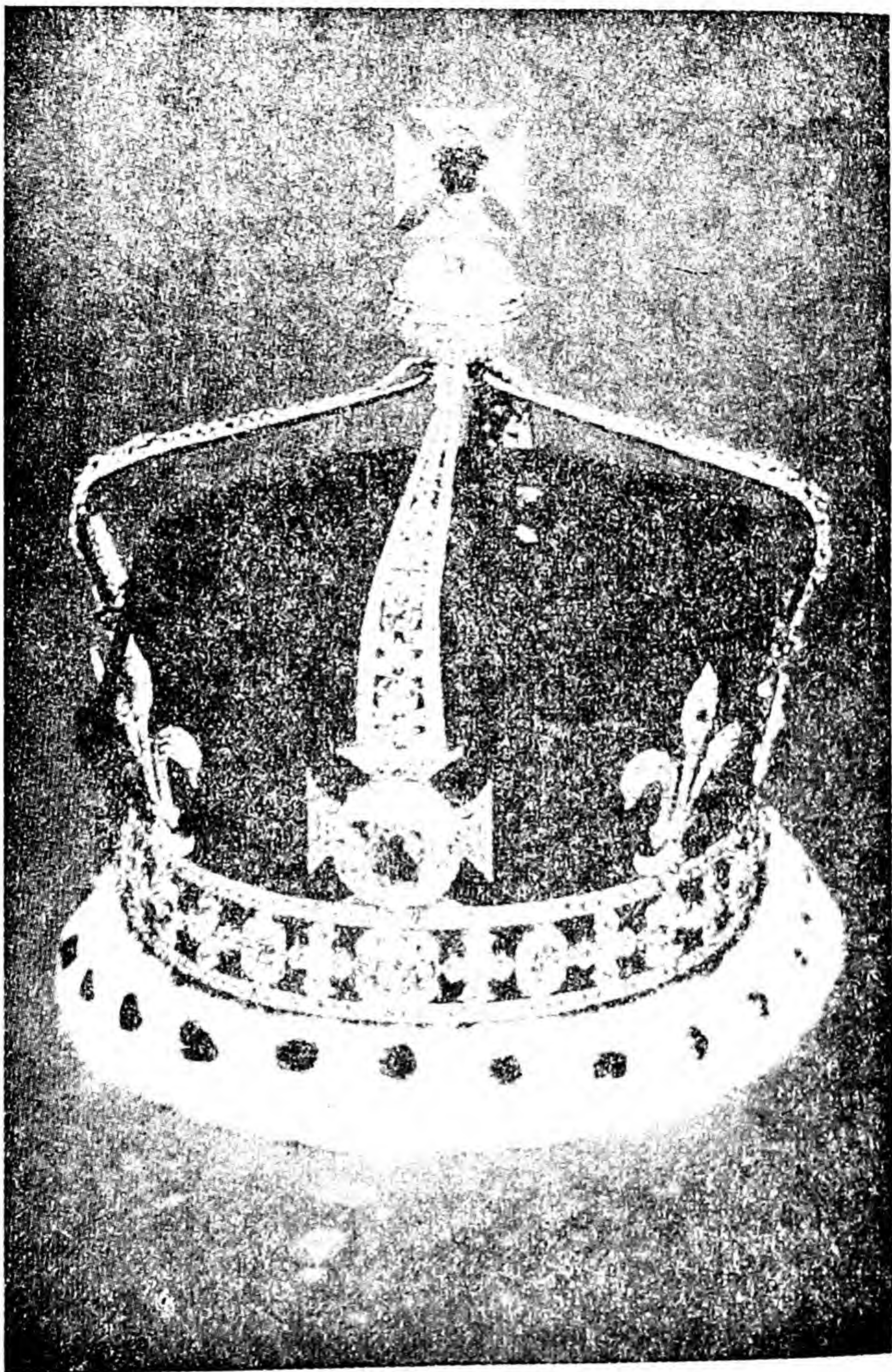
(CROWN JEWELS AND THEIR CUSTODY)

The Crown of State was used again as a coronation crown in 1902. King Edward VII was recovering from a serious operation, and it was necessary to avoid all risk of strain and fatigue. St. Edward's Crown was carried in the procession as if it were going to be used, but when the actual moment came it was the lighter crown that was taken from the altar and set upon his head. His son, afterwards King George V, was present as Prince of Wales, and is represented, in the late Byam Show's drawings of the principal figures in the ceremony, as wearing a single-arched crown of very graceful form, for which there is no other evidence. Remembering Nayler's picture of Lord Anglesey with two legs and the wrong crown, in a similar publication eighty years before, we may hesitate to regard the picture as conclusive evidence, and it is more likely that the eighteenth-century Prince of Wales's crown was worn by Prince George, just as it had been worn by his father on various ceremonial occasions. Queen Alexandra's crown (Pl. 26), which she subsequently had re-set with paste and presented] to the London Museum, was the first consort's crown to carry the famous Indian diamond known as the Koh-i-Noor. No King of England has worn it, and it has never been set [in a] sovereign's crown. Queen Victoria wore it in a brooch or a bracelet, or in a small circlet specially made for it; succeeding kings had it set in the crowns of their consorts, and, after having [been used in the crown of Queen Mary, it is now in the crown of Queen Elizabeth the Queen Mother and is displayed in the Jewel House (Pl. 27). The empty setting in Queen Mary's crown has been completed by a crystal replica for display purposes.

DOCUMENT 5**The English Regalia, Page 75**

An important addition to the display at the Tower at about this time was the Koh-i-Noor bracelet.

This famous diamond was sent to England after the Sikh wars by the East India Company, and put on view at Great Exhibition in 1851; it was afterwards recut, and worn in a small circlet by the Queen; it is today set-in the Crown of Queen Elizabeth the Queen Mother (*see p. 41*). The original Indian bracelet in which the Koh-i-Noor, together with two other diamonds, had been set, was fitted with paste replicas and added to the display in the Tower in 1855.



Crown of Elizabeth the Queen Mother, showing the Koh-i-Noor in front.

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